The making of teachers

a study of trainee teachers' experiences of learning to teach in different postgraduate routes in England

Steadman, Sarah

Awarding institution:
King's College London

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Sarah Steadman

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Abstract

This study is concerned with the experience of secondary trainee teachers following full time postgraduate training routes in England. The research illuminates the differing approaches to learning and teaching practices in three settings offering postgraduate teaching qualifications: a university; a school-centred initial teacher training site and a blended programme that combines school-led and online learning. The study's primary focus is on how trainee secondary English teachers learn and develop in the contrasting settings. Alongside this, consideration is given to how trainees' identities as teachers develop during the training year. Analysis of the literature and the ramifications of government legislation on teacher training in England contributes to an understanding of the positioning of trainee teachers in the shifting educational landscape. Issues of identity are explored, addressing how trainee teachers define and redefine themselves through the everyday life events encountered in their professional and training contexts.

The lived experience of the trainees is captured using ethnographic methods. Observational data of the three contrasting cohorts is combined with classroom observations of identified participants. This is supported by semi-structured interviews staged throughout the year and consideration of the academic assignments completed as part of the training programme. The reporting of the ethnographic data is organised around a series of structuring concepts. This non-linear approach serves to highlight the recursive and sometimes regressive nature of the process of learning to teach. The yearlong immersion in three different research sites results in a richness of data whilst the subsequent analysis provides a significant contribution to our knowledge of what it looks and feels like to learn to teach in the increasingly marketized environment of teacher training in England.

The selected locations straddle the binary line between university-led and school-led training, although a stark contrast in outcomes between trainees following different routes was not apparent. The findings highlight qualitative differences in the provision between sites but also identify the shared significance of the school experience in

shaping the identity and progression of trainees during the year. The analysis of the data culminates in the formation of a conceptual framework addressing issues of conflict, transition and agency. The framework offers a mechanism for the analysis of the trainee experience across sites, subjects and key stages and has the potential to inform the practice of teacher educators and policy makers in England and beyond.

Acknowledgements

Primarily, I would like to thank my participants, without whom this research would not have been possible. Their stories offer a window into the process of learning to teach and their honest reflections have constantly challenged my own preconceptions about teacher training. I wish them all every success in their careers and will always be grateful for their time and candour.

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Acronyms and abbreviations

Whilst every effort has been made to explain abbreviations and acronyms in the text, the following list details those most commonly used:

DfE	Department for Education
HEI	Higher Education Institution
ITE	Initial Teacher Education
ITT	Initial Teacher Training
NQT	Newly Qualified Teacher
Ofsted	The Office for Standards in Education, Children's Services and Skills
PGCE	Post Graduate Certificate in Education
ProfGCE	Professional Graduate Certificate in Education
QTS	Qualified Teacher Status
SCITT	School-centred initial teacher training

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Chapter 1: Introduction

Teacher education in England has seen significant changes over the past three decades (Murray & Mutton, 2015; Cochran-Smith, 2015), with reforms to initial teacher training resulting in a fragmented landscape in England that differs from the rest of the United Kingdom. Since the publication of Circular 9/92 (DfE,1992) which required greater partnership working between higher education providers and schools, a 'patchwork of provision' (Whiting et al., 2016 p7) has evolved.

Three routes into teaching had emerged by the time of the UK general election in 2010. The first (and dominant) saw provision located in higher education institutions and their partnerships. School-led provision came in the form of SCITTs, school-centred initial teacher training schemes, whilst employment-based routes provided a third alternative (Whitty, 2017). By 2015, nine distinct routes were discernible, identified by the Association of School and College Leaders (ASCL, 2015)[1]. Only one of these routes, school-centred initial teacher training, is exclusively led by schools, whilst two (undergraduate route and higher education institution led Postgraduate Certificate in Education) are university-led. The remaining routes are led by both universities and schools. The routes are summarised below, with further detail on those most relevant to this study provided in Chapter Two:

- School-centred initial teacher training (SCITT): usually a one-year course, led by a network of schools that have been quality assured and approved to deliver training. Accreditation for postgraduate academic awards must be provided by a higher education institution;
- School Direct (unsalaried and salaried): usually a one-year course, with schools recruiting trainees and working in partnership with a university or SCITT to deliver training;
- Teach First: a two-year programme for graduates based in schools facing challenges;

[1] A copy of the ASCL 2015 provision map is provided in Appendix A

- Troops to Teachers: a one or two-year programme for those leaving the Armed Forces;
- Researchers for Schools: a two-year salaried programme for researchers with a doctorate, or finishing their study;
- HMO: a two-year salaried option offered in independent schools by the Headmasters and Headmistresses Conference (HMC);
- Undergraduate route: usually 3-4 years, with trainees studying for a degree alongside teacher training;
- Postgraduate route (PGCE): a one-year course in a higher education institution, with placements in schools.

All routes lead to qualified teacher status (QTS). In 2018, the introduction of the Teaching Apprenticeship programme provided another salaried route into teaching for graduates. In addition, since 2013 an Assessment Only route targeting unqualified teachers already in post has enabled the assessment of QTS via a portfolio of evidence and school-based observations.

The choice of programmes has resulted in a teacher training landscape in England that is difficult to navigate. In 2015, The National College for Teaching and Leadership commissioned the Institute for Employment Studies to investigate the experiences of those registering an interest in initial teacher training. The findings pointed to a volume of information that is 'confusing, contradictory and overwhelming' (Williams et al., 2016 p9), a fact not disputed by the government. Even the National Audit Office concluded that, 'Potential applicants do not yet have good enough information to make informed choices about where to train and the plethora of routes has been widely described to us as confusing.' (NAO, 2016 p11, cited in Ellis, Steadman and Trippestad, 2019).

Despite the complexities, each year around 30,000 postgraduates enter teacher training programmes in England (DfE, 2018a). This study aims to illuminate the experiences of secondary trainee teachers in three contrasting settings: a Postgraduate Certificate in Education programme at a high-ranking Russell Group university; a school-led programme, and a School Direct blended programme run through a Teaching School Alliance in collaboration with an online global institute. All three providers have been judged as Outstanding by the Office for Standards in Education, Children's Services

and Skills (Ofsted); the non-ministerial department of the UK government responsible for the inspection of initial teacher training. The university-led programme awards the Post Graduate Certificate in Education (PGCE), which is also an option for trainee teachers on the School Direct programme run by the Teaching Alliance. Successful completion of the SCITT course results in the award of QTS and a Professional Graduate Certificate in Education (ProfGCE) accredited via a local university.

1.1 Rationale

This thesis has its origins in my interest in the preparation of teachers in England. I qualified as a secondary English teacher in 1991 and have worked in schools all my professional life, both as a classroom teacher and as a senior leader. My own teacher preparation took place in a traditional university setting but as a Specialist Leader in Education, I became involved in the training of teachers in school-led training programmes. My role as a Director of Sixth Form involved the recruitment of teachers and I was struck by the apparent differences in their experience and knowledge dependent on the location of their training.

In 2016, I took the decision to move away from schools in order to focus on my growing interest in teacher education and commenced doctoral study at the university where I had completed an MA in English in Education some 15 years previously. Although I was aware of statistical information relating to university-led and school-led training, I had not encountered any research based in England that sought to engage with the different environments on a daily basis from the perspective of the trainee teachers involved. As a full-time doctoral student with access to schools and a professional awareness of the field, I was well placed to undertake such a project. The research questions arise from my desire to gain insight into the nature of teacher preparation in England. The focus on English addresses my own specialism and an unapologetic love for my subject.

1.2 Research questions

This study is concerned with the lived experience of trainee teachers in England and adopts an ethnographic approach. The overarching research question focuses on the nature of teacher learning:

- How do trainee secondary teachers learn to teach in different postgraduate teacher training settings?

A secondary question seeks to clarify and illuminate trainee teachers' development and their attitudes and approaches to their chosen profession and to their own study:

- How do the teacher identities of trainee secondary teachers develop over the course of their training year?

1.3 Postgraduate awards

The PGCE is typically a 9-month programme, comprising up to 60 credits at Master's degree level. The ProfGCE is similar to the PGCE but does not contain credits at Master's degree level. There is variation in the number of Master's credits awarded on PGCE programmes, as cited by Sir Andrew Carter and team in their Review of Initial Teacher Education (Carter, 2015), commissioned by the UK Secretary of State for Education in April 2014. There is an acknowledgement in the Review that graduates perceive PGCE courses as having 'more status' and are 'more likely to be academically rigorous' although this is offset by concerns that this perception may also lead to the misconception that 'the gaining of a PGCE as more important than gaining QTS when, of course, it is the status of QTS that qualifies the teacher' (p13). The Review highlights the optional nature of the PGCE in Recommendation 14,

> 'Building on the development of school-led ITT, the DfE should work in collaboration with those involved in ITT to consider the way in which teachers qualify, with a view to strengthening what has become a complex and sometimes confusing system. We would like applicants to understand that QTS is the essential component of ITT and that a PGCE is an optional academic qualification.' (Carter, 2015 p13).

All of the participants in this study opted to undertake the PGCE or ProfGCE.

1.4 Semantic issues

Prior to 1992, Higher Education Institutions dominated the teacher preparation landscape, with prospective teachers identifying as students of their selected university. The implementation of circular 9/92 saw schools become 'full partners of higher education' (DfE, 1992 p1). In this document, the terminology remained unchanged, with use of the word 'student' throughout. By 2003, use of the term

'student' had been replaced with 'trainee' in official publications, with reference to 'trainee teachers' and 'teacher training' appearing throughout the Teacher Training Agency's *Qualifying to Teach* (TTA, 2003). By 2010, this language was embedded in the Government discourse (Golding, 2015), with multiple references to 'training' and 'trainees' featuring in David Cameron and Nick Clegg's Foreword to the White Paper *The Importance of Teaching* (DfE, 2010). The notion of training is suggestive of an endpoint and has associations with a perception of the teacher as a craftworker (Orchard & Winch, 2015). As Crawford (2017) comments, 'the training route is very seductive; it offers a common-sense argument that points to what populist rhetoric assumes are the skills that teachers need.' (p198). It was perhaps inevitable that the opening up of the market to other routes into teaching besides those hosted in universities would lead to a change in the use of the term 'student' but the emphasis on training and trainees is significant both in terms of professional identity and the future of teacher education.

For the purposes of research description and data analysis in this study, the decision was made to adopt the language used by the three training providers. All three refer to 'trainees' in their online literature and their programme handbooks and cite the process of learning to teach as 'training.' As a result, decisions over the positioning of those joining the courses had already been made prior to enrolment and on paper there is no difference in the identifying language of school-led or university-led sites. Therefore, in the data for this study, all participants are referenced as trainees. The terms 'initial teacher' and 'preservice teacher' are used elsewhere as the literature draws on contexts outside of the research sites. There are, of course, issues of identity inherent in these semantic decisions. As noted by Ó Gallchóir, O'Flaherty and Hinchion (2018), the selection of any label, be that student teacher, pre-service teacher or trainee 'in fact promotes a dissonance or dichotomisation within itself' (p152). The formation of the teacher identity is a central theme in this research and its exploration is evident in the reviews of the literature and the analysis of data generated in the field.

When discussing different routes into teaching, Whiting et al. (2018) note the recurrence of discrepancies in publications around the terms 'school-led', 'school-based' and 'school-centred' and how they differ from 'HE-led', commenting that such distinctions are 'simply to do with control and distribution of funds, rather than the nature of the training' (p76). In their report, they make the pragmatic decision to adopt

the term ‘provider’, defined as ‘the accredited entity that is accountable for the outcomes on trainees and recommends QTS’ (p76). For the purpose of this study, the term ‘provider’ is used to refer to the three routes under study as each are responsible for the recruitment of trainees and the assessment of QTS. Further differentiation is provided by use of the terms school-led and university-led. It is noted that the awarding of the academic qualifications (PGCE and ProfGCE) necessitate the partnership with a higher education institution, an arrangement in place in each of the non-university led sites.

1.5 Structure of the thesis

Chapters 2 and 3 review the existing literature pertinent to this study. In Chapter 2, the teacher training landscape in England is discussed, with the emergence of alternative routes into teaching considered against the backdrop of a resurgence of neoliberalism. In Chapter 3, issues of identity and the formation of the teacher are presented from a sociocultural perspective, where encounters with the environment are seen as pivotal in the construction of the self and the formation of professional identity.

Methodology and research methods are addressed in Chapter 4. This chapter firstly considers ethnography as a methodology, with discussion of its history and its relevance for educational research. The latter part of the chapter details this study’s research approach and questions, providing an overview of each of the three research sites and explaining the methods used for data collection and analysis.

Chapters 5, 6 and 7 are at the centre of the thesis. These three ethnographic chapters present the story of the three research sites in turn, identified by their pseudonyms Oakland ITT; Central University and Maple Alliance. The chapters are organised using theoretically constructed concepts arising from the analysis of the data and consideration of existing literature.

The discussion of the research findings is presented in Chapter 8. This integrative chapter seeks to unify the previously separated sites, identifying both similarities and qualitative differences between them. In the second part of the chapter a new framework for the analysis of teacher preparation is presented, formed around the concepts of conflict, transition and agency. The chapter concludes with consideration

of the contribution to knowledge that this study offers. Finally, the conclusions, limitations and implications of the research are drawn together in Chapter 9.

Chapter 2: Review of Literature – The Training Landscape

National education policy in England has seen an increased emphasis on practical teaching strategies, from the neoconservative thinking of policies in the 1990s (Furlong & Maynard, 1995) to the reforms of the 2010-15 Conservative/Liberal Democrat Coalition Government. The political discourses around teacher training has placed little value on the role of universities, emphasising a perceived separation of theoretical instruction from a more practical application in schools, 'teaching is a craft and it is best learnt as an apprentice...' (Gove, 2010). This 'on the job' (Grossman, 1990; Cochran-Smith, 2005) approach to the development of teachers prioritises school-led systems over the traditional home of teacher education in universities.

The emphasis on the centrality of schools in the training process is evident as early as 1984, with the publication of Circular 3/84, *Initial Teacher Training: Approval of Courses* (DES, 1984) marking a policy movement towards the involvement of schools in teacher preparation. The formation of The Council for the Accreditation of Teacher Education (CATE) brought with it the 'CATE Criteria', outlining minimum requirements for the time spent in schools as part of teacher training programmes. Subsequent circulars published in the coming years would see an increasing tightening of government control over initial teacher education, but the formation of the Coalition Government in 2010 marked a significant shift in the speed and scope of educational policy, as noted by Childs and Menter (2013),

> 'So although in this government's policy we can see both neoliberal and neoconservative perspectives as we have seen since 1984, what is perhaps different in the current policy trajectory is a much faster and more comprehensive move to school-led and school-based ITT and CPD than we have seen before.' (p109).

2.1 The rise of neoliberalism

Under the Conservative government (1979-1997), economic policy in England increasingly moved towards a neoliberal agenda of deregulation, privatisation and liberalisation, impacting directly on policies around education. Hodge (2017) provides a concise description of a neoliberal education policy as being 'associated with reduction of public expenditure on education, erosion of educator autonomy, centralisation of curriculum and a focus on high-stakes testing and league tables'

(p333). Drawing parallels with what he terms the first liberalism of the early to mid-nineteenth century, Ball (2012, 2013) argues that the late twentieth and early twenty-first century marks a time of second or neo-liberalism in which both the New Labour (1997-2010) and Conservative/Liberal Democrat Coalition (2010-2015) governments acted to reduce direct responsibility in the delivery of educational services,

> 'These ideas have been embedded through initiatives like the academies and free school programmes, studio schools, trust schools, Teach First, teaching schools, and Troops to Teachers. We are moving back towards a 'system' of education that is messy, patchy and diverse, involving a variety of providers.' (Ball, 2013 p10).

The introduction of Teachers' Standards (DfE, 2011a) established a centralised baseline of expectations for the professional practice and conduct of teachers. This increased focus on the mastery of a set of skills and competences further developed a view of teacher professionalism 'heavily weighted' towards the management of behaviour (Evans, 2011). As Thomas (2012) comments, 'Teachers are rarely asked to think about what they teach and why; and consequently many will be ill-prepared to engage with, let alone lead, discussions about what young people should learn' (p8). Parallels can be drawn between England and the US, as noted by Cochran-Smith (2015) who sees neoliberal perspectives in both countries as 'nearly imperceptible as ideology' and 'more likely understood as common sense' (pxii). This sense of tacit acceptance of policy is earlier referenced by Ball (2013) who, bemoaning the creation of a 'weary, wary and fearful' teaching workforce, calls for a move towards democratic professionalism as an antidote to the increasing neoliberal agenda, with an emphasis instead on 'collaborative, cooperative action between teachers and other educational stakeholders' (p39).

2.2 School-led and university-led routes

The implementation of government Circular 9/92 for secondary (DfE, 1992) brought the statutory requirement for higher education institutions to enter into formal partnership arrangements with schools, exercising 'joint responsibility for the planning and management of courses and the selection, training and assessment of students' (p4). With this change came an increase in the amount of training time spent in schools. In the same year, Ofsted started its rigorous inspection procedures of both schools and ITT providers. By 2003, the commitment to partnership had become very

clear, with the inclusion in the Teacher Training Agency's *Qualifying to Teach* (TTA, 2003) that 'training is most effective where practicing teachers are directly involved' (p84). The publication of the Coalition Government's White Paper *The Importance of Teaching* in November 2010 (DfE, 2010) saw an increase in the proportion of time trainees spent in classrooms and a focus on core teaching practices. The paper prompted concerned responses, with Dr Wendy Piatt, Director General of the Russell Group of universities, commenting, 'We would urge the Government not to put the quality of teacher training at risk, by marginalising the important contribution of universities' (Piatt, 2010). The White Paper was followed by the implementation plan *Training our next generation of outstanding teachers* (DfE, 2011b), which brought with it the introduction of School Direct. This training route placed schools in the driving seat of both the selection and recruitment of trainees. The two strands of School Direct offered graduates the opportunity to opt for a non-salaried pathway that incurred tuition fees, often offset by bursaries for highly qualified graduates or in shortage subject areas, or an employment-based route. Good graduates with at least three years' work experience had the opportunity to select a salaried route, employed as unqualified teachers at a school whilst training. Fundamental to the School Direct system was the responsibility given to schools, with reductions in the allocations of places in HEIs in favour of the school-based route. As Brown, Rowley and Smith (2016) observe, '…policy changes including School Direct have also altered the balance of power between universities and schools, and in turn, their relationship with one another.' (p11).

Purves and Pulsford's (2018) exploration of the allocation of postgraduate initial teacher education places highlights the differing perceptions among final year BA Education students of university-led and school-led routes into teaching. University-led PGCEs are described by trainees as 'lecture format' and 'theory-based', with 'less focus on the school placement aspect' (p53). Associated with high achievers and academics, the university-led courses are perceived as failing to 'hit the ground running' (p53) in contrast to the immediacy of the school-led experience. This binary discourse of two opposing ends of the spectrum is reflective of Government rhetoric and helps to map the landscape in which training providers operate. It is not surprising that this should be carried into schools but does serve to frame the relationship with accrediting universities on PGCE SCITTs. The relationship with the university can

quickly become centred on administrative practicalities, with discussions dominated by references to library access and mechanisms for moderation. Describing university and school partnerships as 'neither good nor bad', McAllister (2015) welcomes opportunities to 'think imaginatively and deeply about both practical educational problems and educational theory, disciplines and research…' (p51). However, this would require a greater synergy between the two worlds and an agenda for discussion that transcends course management.

The postgraduate teacher education landscape in England continues to change as new providers enter the scene. The passing of the Higher Education and Research Act in April 2017 made it easier for private providers to adopt the title of university and gain degree awarding powers, creating new opportunities for providers of teacher education. The introduction of a 'knowledge-based' PGCE by the private BPP University via the Pimlico-London SCITT in September 2017 prompted much comment, with course director Robert Peal justifying the 'knowledge' claim in an interview for the Times Educational Supplement on the basis of the curriculum and reading lists, a focus on subject knowledge and the inclusion of a written examination as part of the assessment, rebutting the perceived progressive approaches of other providers (Hazell, 2017 July 21). In the same article, James Noble-Rogers, executive director of the Universities Council for the Education of Teachers, described Peal's characterisation of other teacher training providers as 'outdated clichéd prejudice' with 'no bearing on reality', a view supported by James Williams, lecturer in education at University of Sussex when he claims:

> 'Education is not just about rote learning, it's about understanding. Understanding means the application of knowledge – it isn't just about the knowledge itself.' (Hazell, 2017 July 21)

Mr Peal was not prepared to grant access to the course for the purposes of this study as it was in what he described as a 'pilot stage.' Success was to be short lived, with the course closing its doors before the end of its first year.

The range of routes available for graduates was broadened again in October 2017 with the announcement by then Education Secretary Justine Greening of a new postgraduate teaching apprenticeship, to be offered from September 2018. This new apprenticeship was described as providing 'hands-on experience for new recruits and a chance to learn from excellent, experienced teachers during training' (DfE, 2017b),

the emphasis firmly on the practical acquisition of skills in the workplace. Running parallel to the School Direct salaried route, all apprentices are paid as unqualified teachers. An announcement by School Standards Minister Nick Gibb in November 2018 (DfE, 2018c) aimed at recruiting and supporting up to 600 teachers over the coming two years saw the granting of a £10.7 million investment to three organisations: Now Teach; Cognition Education and The Brilliant Club. The recruitment programmes of the three organisations specifically target career changers and doctoral students and Gibb's rhetoric highlights an emphasis on transferable skills as opposed to theoretical knowledge,

> 'By focusing on skilled professionals who want to change careers and PhD graduates, we can ensure pupils are benefiting from the broadest range of skills, expertise and life experience. This approach will help drive up education standards further so young people are acquiring the skills and knowledge they need to succeed.' (DfE, 2018c).

The emergence of so many different routes into teaching has fundamentally altered the teacher preparation landscape in England, resulting in significant changes in the positioning of universities. With responsibility for the training of teachers increasingly moving away from higher education and towards schools, the contributors to the discourses of teacher preparation are changing, prompting reaction from some teacher educators. As McIntyre, Youens and Stevenson (2017) claim, 'since 2010, university voices have been systematically marginalised and in some cases silenced in debates about teacher preparation and policies have actively reduced their input' (p2).

2.2.1 The Carter Review

In 2014, the Secretary of State for Education commissioned Sir Andrew Carter OBE to undertake an independent review of initial teacher training (ITT), with the aim of identifying key core elements of high-quality ITT, improving transparency of training offers and access to courses (Carter, 2015). In the Foreword, Carter dismisses the university-led versus school-led binary as 'not that helpful', emphasising instead the need for collaboration and partnership, an emphasis that is apparent in the review's recommendations, although not of necessity between schools and universities. The review report states that 'by working together schools can create an education community of thought and practice emphasising that ideas can, and should, be shared

for the good of all children' (p60) and schools are encouraged to collaborate through Teaching School Alliances. Such Alliances are formed between Teaching Schools, which are schools that have been judged good or outstanding by Ofsted and who provide training and support for school improvement in their local area.

In their analysis of the Carter Review, Mutton, Burn and Menter (2016) see commitment to school-led systems of ITT as 'entirely consistent with a neoliberal agenda, with its strong regulatory framework and appeal to market mechanisms' (p1). Using tensions identified by Marilyn Cochran-Smith (2005) as an analytical framework, they conducted a textual analysis of the Review, adding two further categories. One of the tensions identified by Cochran-Smith is between multiple sites of teacher training versus a university site. In their analysis of this, Mutton et al. (2016) note that the Review 'actually operates on the assumption that schools involved in the training of teachers are undertaking that work with a university partner' (p7). The authors allude to the tension between the Coalition government's desire to create more SCITTs and the assertion in the Carter Review that 'the most effective partnerships include a range of types of schools as well as a university partner' (Carter, 2015 p42). Acknowledging that the Review encourages collaboration, Mutton et al. also note the potential for the development of 'complementary partnerships', with a focus on content coverage rather than programme integration. Ultimately, the Review is presented as a nuanced document, but one that also highlights the issues around policy in a contentious arena,

> 'Commissioned with the clear aim of reviewing the quality and effectiveness of initial teacher education programmes, what the Review presents is instead a picture of complexity and a clear sense of the tensions and challenges inherent in a policy review of this nature…' (Mutton et al., 2016 p15).

There is balance in the Review's findings and a surprising lack of bias towards routes given the political rhetoric of the commissioning government. Rather than supporting the move towards school-based ITE evident in the 2010 White Paper's intention to '…provide more opportunities for a larger proportion of trainees to learn on the job by improving and expanding the best of the current school-based routes into teaching…'(DfE, 2010), the Review states, 'it is difficult to draw conclusions about whether one route into teaching is any more effective than another. We have found strengths across all routes.' (Carter, 2015 p6). Despite this affirmation, there is an

implied bias in Sir Andrew Carter's comments following the announcement of the new postgraduate apprenticeship in October 2017,

> 'The opportunity for more graduates to be trained within the school setting has the potential to increase the number of applicants. Working alongside great teachers and learning at first hand is the best way to create great teachers.' (DfE, 2017b).

2.2.2 Educational Excellence Everywhere

Despite the lack of endorsement for a prescribed route into teaching in the Carter Review, the publication of the White Paper *Educational Excellence Everywhere* in March 2016 brought a reaffirmation of schools at the centre of initial teacher training,

> 'We will continue to move to an increasingly school-led ITT system which recruits enough great teachers in every part of the country, so that the best schools and leaders control which teachers are recruited and how they are trained.' (DfE 2016a, p28).

The claim is made that 'We know that when teachers have extensive ITT in schools, they perform better' (p29), a bold statement that is supported in the footnote by reference to published research, including Pauline Musset's review of current practices in OECD countries in relation to ITT (Musset, 2010). However, Musset is at pains to reference the need for contextualization, noting differences between and within countries. As she states, 'There is no magical "policy mix" that can be applied in each and every situation.' (p3). Like Carter, she highlights the need for partnership and collaboration and includes specific reference to the role of academic institutions in her conclusion,

> 'Initial teacher education is increasingly being transferred to schools. Research puts into evidence the positive impacts of reinforcing complementarity between field experience and academic studies. This is why it shouldn't take over completely on the theoretical part of teacher education, fundamental to obtain high-quality teachers. Countries should establish shared responsibility between teacher education institutes and schools in the training of teachers, in order to fill the "theory-practice" gap.' (p45).

The White Paper also included a call for a review of ITT content, with a greater focus on subject knowledge and evidence-based practice, alongside the replacement of qualified teacher status (QTS) with a 'stronger, more challenging accreditation based on a teacher's effectiveness in the classroom, as judged by great schools' (DfE, 2016 p24). This commitment was later to be overturned by Nicky Morgan's successor as

Education secretary, Justine Greening. Speaking at the inaugural conference of the Chartered College of Teaching in London in February 2017, Greening commented,

> 'I think a mature profession like teaching needs a high status qualification that reflects standards. Some people have suggested that QTS might be scrapped or that it could be replaced with some vague notion of accreditation. I want to be absolutely clear about that: not on my watch.' (Greening, 2017).

Instead, she stated that a 'newly strengthened' QTS would be introduced from September 2019. A public consultation into QTS was launched in December 2017, although by the time the Government response to the consultation was published, Greening had been replaced as Education Secretary by Damien Hinds. The response contained a number of key actions, including the extension of the induction period for new teachers to two years and the introduction of the Early Career Framework, whose content is designed to 'build on and complement ITT' (DfE, 2018b p8). Proposals were consolidated in the publication of the *Teacher Recruitment and Retention Strategy* in January 2019 (DfE, 2019b). In both documents, QTS remained as a landmark at the end of the training period, although the planned removal of the statutory requirement to sit and pass entry tests in numeracy and literacy skills prior to the commencement of training was reported in July 2019 (Allen-Kinross, 2019 July 12).

2.2.3 A false dichotomy?

It is certainly the case that there has been a softening in Government rhetoric around routes into teaching since Michael Gove's claim that 'The evidence shows the best teacher training is led by teachers…that the classroom is the best place for teachers to learn as well as to teach' (Gove, 2013). Speaking in November 2016, Ben Ramm, then Head of Supply Policy and System Reform at the DfE, rebutted the suggestion that the Department focused exclusively on school-led teacher training, defining the current approach as 'pragmatic rather than focused on any specific structural preference for school-led or university led-ITT' (Ramm, 2016 November). This movement away from the university-bashing rhetoric that defined Gove's period in office may have been fuelled in part by realism; universities are well placed to address the recommendations regarding research and evidence based practice in the Carter Review, underpinned by a belief that trainees need to 'understand how to interpret educational theory and research in a critical way' (Carter, 2015 p53). There is also a

suggestion that the changing stance is pragmatic as universities remain an attractive option for graduates, as indicated by Howson (2017) in his blog concerning the School Direct route into teaching. Noting the decline in offers made for secondary School Direct salaried route between 2016 and 2017, he observes that the combined School Direct routes incurred a drop of 'around 4,000 in applications.' He sets this against an increase in secondary higher education applications 'from nearly 25,000 last year to 25,260 this year', in addition to an increase in applications to SCITTS. He ends his blog with a call for action following the 2017 general election,

> 'Overall, the assessment must be that School Direct in the secondary sector needs the attention of the in-coming Secretary of State as a matter of urgency. The ideological battle to take secondary teacher preparation away from higher education seems under challenge from the behaviour of the very applicants it was designed to serve.' (Howson 2017).

In the words of James Noble-Rogers, executive director UCET, 'The mood music certainly seems to have changed. The proof of the pudding will of course be in the eating' (Ward and Hazell, 2017 March 10).

The political and media rhetoric around initial teacher education in England emphasises the difference between the two routes of school-led and university led provision, but the realities are often less oppositional. As Ellis and McNicholl (2015) observe, schools often lack the necessary staff and infrastructure to manage the complexities of recruitment and allocations and have instead drawn on the partnerships with HEIs to lead on admissions, training and quality assurance,

> 'So although superficially it looks as though significantly more teachers are being prepared in schools through School Direct, on closer examination these teachers are still being trained in partnership with HEIs and coming into contact with other student teachers on those HEI's PGCE courses.' (p22).

The publication of the Department for Education's Teacher Training Performance Profiles for 2015/16 prompted an impassioned response from David Spendlove, Strategic Director for Initial Teacher Education at the University of Manchester. Writing in Schools Week, he dismissed the classification of HEI-led and school-led ITT as a misleading 'artificial binary', emphasising the necessary centrality of an extended partnership between schools and universities and echoing the comments of Ellis and McNicholl, 'many of these models are simply indistinguishable from typical standard ITE programmes.' (Spendlove, 2017). As Spendlove acknowledges, it is

becoming increasingly challenging for the DfE to manage reporting on a system of around 10,000 courses.

2.2.4 Numbers on routes

Over time, there has been a steady shift away from university-led teacher training towards more school-based routes with the expansion of school-led initial teacher training sites - networks of schools that have been approved to run school-centred courses. The table below summarises the national picture since 2014:

Table 1: Postgraduate Entrants to Initial Teacher Training (ITT) courses in England

	2014-15	**%**	**2015-16**	**%**	**2016-17**	**%**	**2017-18**	**%**	**2018-19**	**%**
HEI based	**14,836**	57	**13,561**	49	**11,992**	41	**12,940**	47	**13,570**	47
School based: Total	**11,382**	43	**14,208**	51	**15,061**	56	**14,780**	53	**15,515**	53
SCITT	2150		2372		3057		3410		4000	
School Direct (Fee paying)	6451		7086		7470		7280		7535	
School Direct (Salaried)	2781		3166		3159		2790		2735	
Teach First**			1584		1375		1300		1155	
Post Graduate Teaching Apprenticeship (PGTA)									90	
Total	**26,218***	100	**27,769***	100	**27,053***	100	**27,720***	100	**29,085***	100
Source	**(DfE, 2014a)**		**(DfE, 2015)**		**(DfE, 2016b)**		**(DfE, 2017a)**		**DfE, 2018a)**	

*****excludes forecast trainees (i.e. those expected to start after the point at which these statistics were collected)*
***reported for first time in 2015-16*

Although there has been a substantial increase in the number of school-based post graduate entrants since 2014, it is interesting to note the decline in the upward trajectory in the 2017-18 data. However, despite a decrease in the number of post graduate entrants from 2016-17, school-based routes still maintain dominance over university-based training, with 53 percent of the total. This distribution is maintained in 2018-19, but with a return to the upward movement for school-based routes, partially explained by the advent of the Post Graduate Teaching Apprenticeship (PGTA), although this only recruited 90 graduates.

In 'The Good Teacher Training Guide' (Smithers & Bungey, 2017) only two universities feature in the 'top ten' providers league table and the perceived success for school-based routes for employment is highlighted. Figures show 90% of trainees from school-centred teacher training entering teaching compared with 79% from university postgraduate courses and 74% from undergraduate courses. However, it

should be noted that some of the 'top providers' are very small. Pimlico-London SCITT is ranked 3rd but only has 9 trainees whilst Cramlington Teaching School Alliance SCITT ranked 4th has only 5 trainees. Conversely, the University of Cambridge's teacher education programme, ranked 1st, had 352 final year trainees. There is also a change in the way in which outcomes are measured from previous years, with a move from the 'proportion of the final-year students in teaching six months after completing training' to 'the percentage achieving QTS, which is returned by the providers' (Smithers & Bungey, 2017 p14).

Overall, since 2014, the recruitment of teachers has not kept pace with increasing pupil numbers, as noted in the Foreword to the DfE's *Teacher Recruitment and Retention Strategy*, 'it has become increasingly difficult to recruit and retain staff of the calibre required' (DfE, 2019b p4). With the number of secondary school pupils projected to rise by 15% between 2018 and 2025 (Foster, 2019 p4), pressure on teacher recruitment is likely to increase further in the coming years, inevitably leading to a continued focus on the validity and success of the various routes into teaching.

Speaking in 1992, then Prime Minister John Major outlined his vision for the future of teacher preparation, calling for a 'return to basic subject teaching, not courses in the theory of education' (Major, 1992). His words speak to a perceived division between theory and practice, a tension between preparing autonomous professionals and developing technical expertise. In later government rhetoric, such a separation of theory and practice has become associated with the school-led and university-led dichotomy (Steadman 2018). The following section looks more closely at the relationship between theory and practice in teacher preparation in England, considering the impact of a practical approach on the trajectory of the process of learning to teach.

2.3 The relationship between theory and practice

Articulating a divide between theory and practice, Dewey (1904) draws a distinction between what he terms the apprenticeship and the laboratory model, advocating the need for both,

> ‘I shall assume without argument that adequate professional instruction of teachers is not exclusively theoretical, but involves a certain amount of practical work.’ (p9).

This separation is still relevant to teacher education over 100 years later, as discussed by Lampert (2010) in her exploration of practice and its meaning in relation to learning to teach. Korthagen (2010) explores causes for the gap between practice and theory, citing a lack of time for reflection among the influencing factors. Teachers, he claims, do not always have the time to think and this can lead to concrete and swift responses to situations rather than considered answers. He draws a distinction between the immediate and situated practical knowledge and the ‘formal knowledge’ that can be provided by teacher education programmes. An emphasis on practical knowledge is highlighted in a report commissioned by the Cambridge Primary Review Trust which considers research and other evidence in relation to initial Primary teacher education (McNamara, Murray, & Phillips, 2017). The report finds that in the move towards schools as key initial teacher training sites, ‘academic rigour has been reduced and practical knowledge of how to teach, gained through immersion in the workplace, has become dominant.’ (p67). Practical knowledge arises from the classroom experience and teachers’ reflections on that experience. As such, it is situation specific. Issues over transferability of skills are raised in the report as learning is found to be ‘centred around the acquisition of local pedagogies and curriculum practices, and a ‘what works here’ approach to knowledge-generation’(p29). This echoes the findings of the 2016 report from Manchester Metropolitan University which details the reconfiguration of teacher training in England following the introduction of School Direct and looks at the impact on university and school sites. Noting a tipping in the balance of power in university and school partnerships, the authors conclude that,

> ‘The prevailing ideology positions teaching as essentially a craft rather than an intellectual activity, meaning that teacher training is viewed as an apprenticeship, best located in the workplace.’ (Brown et al., 2016 p11).

Orchard and Winch (2015) dismiss the craftworker definition for teachers, arguing that craft elements are ‘necessary but not sufficient’ (p13). Charting a conceptual map for teacher education, they cite the relevance and importance of conceptual knowledge, empirical research and ethical deliberations in the formation of the teacher. In the development of professionals, the understanding and adaption of theory

is essential, 'because they must understand what they are doing and why they are doing it, and must be able to think intelligently about how to do it better.' (p2). Whilst asserting that universities are 'better placed' to prepare teachers in the necessary theoretical engagement, they adapt the apprenticeship model as part of their vision for teacher education, combining a 9-month PGCE with a 2-year apprenticeship in the field, incorporating a weekly element of academic study. In contrast to the 'on the job' apprenticeship training model, this 'higher grade apprenticeship' period would be linked to a university programme of study and would result in the awarding of a full licensure at Master's level on successful completion. Extending the training period is seen as central, providing teachers with the capacity to develop into autonomous professionals,

> 'Both the brevity of current teacher education programmes and their meagre attention to educational theory are symptoms of a deeper malaise; a narrow and distorted popular conception of what it means to be a good teacher.' (p34).

In his keynote address to the Teacher Education Advancement Network conference in 2017, Christopher Winch elaborated on this further, considering the dual system of apprenticeship in Germany as a potential model for teacher training and development. Exploring again three conceptions of the teacher as 'craftworker', 'executive technician' and 'professional', Winch claimed that the narrow view of apprenticeships for teaching in the UK favour the first two, with scant regard for the latter (Winch, 2017 May).

Schoonmaker (2002) alludes to this apprenticeship model in her near decade long study of English teacher Kay, charting her journey through the training process and into the classroom. Schoonmaker sees teacher development as socially constructed, with prior experience impacting on training, referred to by Lortie (1975) as the 'apprenticeship of observation.' She returns to Dewey's belief that that students are seeking 'how-tos'; practical 'tips' for teaching. As Dewey states, 'Teachers, actual and intending, flock to those persons who give them clear-cut and definite instructions as to just how to teach this or that.' (Dewey, 1904 p16). As Kay becomes more experienced, she develops an experimental mindset, moving away from her initial belief in the myth that teachers are self-made (Britzman 1986) towards a more reflexive stance that 'merges theoretical and practical aspects of teaching and projects herself into the role of the teacher as learner.' (Schoonmaker 2002 p73).

An emphasis on the practicalities of teaching invites an association with linearity and progression linked to competence in identified skills. These issues are addressed in the following sections, looking first at the identification of 'core' practices and then at the impact that such an approach has on the perceived trajectory of the training year.

2.3.1 Core practices

The 'how-to' approach to practice is synonymous with a practical approach to education. As Deborah Lowenberg Ball comments, 'We study and improve education practice. By education practice, we mean the doing of education.' (Jesse, 2016, June 19). Ball joins Grossman, Hammerness and McDonald (2009) in advocating that teacher education be structured around a set of 'core practices' for teaching that are taught to novice teachers. It is suggested that in order to effectively identify and master these core practices, it is necessary to 'decompose the practice of teaching into its constituent parts' (Grossman et al., 2009 p278). These 'parts' include developing a classroom culture, learning about student understanding and leading classroom discussions. These skills are rehearsed in non-complex environments or 'approximations of practice', where advice and guidance can be offered, where the 'laboratory-like settings provide the chance for novices to get immediate, targeted feedback on their early efforts to enact components of practice' (p284).

Taken to its furthest extreme, this 'laboratory setting' could become a virtual one, a model that is being explored in the US through the use of online interactions with avatars. Various platforms exist, including SimSchool and Teach Live. SimSchool claims that students can 'create and practice teach any type of learning profile they might encounter in the classroom'[2] but some have seen this as somewhat superficial. As Marquis (2012) summarises in his review of the programme, 'separating behavior from other variables in the students' lives such as the subject matter, their prior relationship with the teacher, and their relationships with their peers, leaves this effort feeling very hollow.'

Ball and Forzani (2009) also argue for more deliberate opportunities for practice in teacher education, with the emphasis on instruction. The decomposition of practice allows teacher educators to 'identify these parts of the work of teaching that have the

[2] http://www.simschool.org/home/simschool/

highest “leverage” for new teachers.’ (p504). These ‘high leverage practices’ are presented as the essential tasks and activities for preservice teachers to fulfil their ‘core instructional responsibilities.’ Grossman et al. (2009) acknowledge the range of definitions of ‘high leverage practices’ but cite the common characteristics of high frequency skills that can be mastered and can be enacted in classrooms across curricular subjects. The acquisition of these skills is seen by Ball as essential for teacher education, ‘Teacher candidates should demonstrate proficient performance with each set of skills before they are granted an initial teaching license.’ (Arbaugh, Ball, Grossman, Heller & Monk 2015 p442). This view echoes Hiebert and Morris (2012), who take inspiration from 'lesson study' in their discussion of the usefulness of what they term 'instructional products', primarily annotated lesson plans and common assessments. The emphasis is placed on improving teaching rather than teachers, with a belief that 'training teachers to acquire the core practices of teaching—would benefit significantly from placing the training directly into the context of studying and improving instructional products.' (p99).

With the decomposition of practice comes the need for recomposing, a tension recognized by Janssen, Grossman and Westbroek (2015) in their consideration of practice-based teacher education (PBTE). They provide an exploration of modularity as a theoretical framework for experimentations with core practices and highlight the need for student teachers to place such practices within larger instructional activities, helped by approximations of practice, ‘…modularity research invites us to explore to what extent recomposition can play a central role in both learning individual core practices and in building a teaching repertoire.’ (p141). Whilst acknowledging that much of their argument is theoretical rather than empirical, they maintain that the complex work of teaching will be assisted by the acquisition of key skills, concluding that, ‘Core practices can be seen, in essence, as building blocks for teaching more ambitiously’ (p144).

The identification of core practices for teaching also relates to the concept of ‘deliberate practice’, a principle expounded by Ericsson, Krampe and Tesch-Romer (1993). The principles of deliberate practice are exemplified in the Deans for Impact (2016) publication, *Practice with Purpose*, with the claim that adoption of the principles by teacher educators ‘can help individual programs improve the coherence and effectiveness of the experiences they provide to teacher-candidates’ (p14). This

model has found favour in England with some providers. Matthew Hood, Chief Education Officer for Ambition Institute and former Teach First director, views teaching as a performance profession where techniques are sharpened in rehearsal before being tried out 'live' in front of a class. Using the analogy of coached fitness training, he describes moving through deliberate practice to strategy and then to final performance (Cook, 2016 December 21). This mirrors the thinking of US educator Doug Lemov, who is clear in his definition of practice, 'In using the word "practice," I am referring to the word in a limited and (to some) mundane sense. Practice is a time when colleagues meet together and participate in exercises that encode core skills.' (Lemov, 2013 p52).

The core practice movement arises from a conviction that teacher education, 'requires a shift from a focus on what teachers know and believe to a greater focus on what teachers do' (Ball & Forzani 2009 p503). The relevance of subject knowledge and an awareness of context are peripheral, and critics of the movement highlight how a focus on generic methods fails to address the needs of the individual. Issues of equity and social justice are foregrounded as the call for 'deliberate and unabashed prescriptiveness' (Ball & Forzani 2009 p506) separates the teachers' practice from their own cultural and social identities,

> 'This separation strips individual teachers of both their resources for connecting with children through shared culture and identities and their accountability for bridging the differences between themselves and the students they teach.' (Philip et al., 2018 p7).

2.3.2 Linear pathways

An emphasis on the practical situates teacher learning on a linear pathway, moving from novice to expert with the accumulation of practical knowledge, '…the more one teaches, the more proficient one becomes' (Lampert, 2010 p27). Watzke (2007) investigated developmental change in a panel of initial teachers through a concerns theory lens. Developing teachers are seen to move sequentially from covert concerns centered on the self to overt concerns with adequacy and engagement with the practical skills of the teaching task before finally reaching concerns centred on pupils and the impact of the teacher on student development. The self-task-impact process is linear, but Watzke's longitudinal study revealed a more recursive dynamic with engagement with self and task concerns reoccurring at different points in the first two years of

teaching. Linear progression has been explored by Furlong and Maynard (1995), whose research into PGCE primary students looked at the nature of professional knowledge. They map the trajectory of the prospective teacher through five stages, namely 'early idealism'; 'personal survival'; 'dealing with difficulties'; 'hitting a plateau' and 'moving on'. The first stage sees the student teachers engaging directly with their students with the emphasis on relationships rather than pedagogy. Stage two highlights concern regarding classroom management control, which through practice are then addressed in stage three where they learn to 'deal' with the difficulties. Hitting a plateau is a stalling in progression as students struggle to move beyond the effective control of classes. A focus on learning is necessary to provide the stimulus for the move to the final stage, where adaptation and development of teaching skills is made possible by embracing the need to critically evaluate the learning of the students in their charge. Burn, Hagger and Mutton (2015) saw evidence of these stages in their research project studying Developing Expertise of Beginning Teachers (the DEBT project), which saw the tracking of 24 teachers over a three-year period, all drawn from PGCE courses jointly planned with universities and schools. Although they did recognize these stages in the development of their trainees, they sound a note of caution around the linear trajectory, noting that 'few trainees actually work though them in this neatly ordered sequence' (p36). Furlong and Maynard (1995) also recognize that progress from novice to professional is 'very likely to be fragmentary and erratic' (p98) but there remains a mapping of a journey that accords with an emphasis on practise as a verb and a belief that progression is at least partly achieved by the amount of teaching a student undertakes.

In an attempt to explain the perceived gap between theory and practice in teacher education, Korthagen (2010) observes a 3-level model of teacher learning, building on the theoretical model developed by Van Hiele (1973; 1986) in an adaptation of Piaget's theory. The first or 'gestalt' level is rooted in practical experience and may not even be distinguishable at a conscious level. Reflection on performance at this point may lead to the development of the schema level, where knowledge from specific situations is 'de-situated.' Finally, the theory level sees the development of generalized and profound understanding across a variety of situations and often alludes practitioners as their actions are situation specific. Korthagen raises questions around what is meant by theory, suggesting that the student teacher perception is likely

to differ from that of researchers, with an emphasis on the practical. Korthagen urges teacher educators to make students aware of the 'problematic relationship' between theory and practice, emphasising how received theory may not appear to match experiences and gestalts. There is a recognition of the need to embrace the whole person in the student teacher journey, addressing cognitive, emotional and motivational factors in a balanced way. The 3-level model does address the theory and practice divide but is still staged in its approach. As Korthagen comments, 'The model shows that professional learning is a bottom-up process, taking place in the individual student teacher.' (Korthagen, 2010 p407).

It is to be questioned whether this model can sufficiently address the recursive nature of learning. There is evidence of an iterative process in Korthagen's exploration of one-to-one teaching, but this would be difficult to facilitate in a teacher education programme, involving 8 weeks of one-to-one engagement between student and student teacher with time for reflection between each session. Korthagen later acknowledges that although transition to the theory level can be of benefit, it does require the student teacher to be receptive (Korthagen 2017). It is, he notes, unusual for teachers to progress to the theory level as the practical is covered by schema and gestalt. Notwithstanding, there is a welcome engagement with the emotionality of learning to teach and it is difficult not to agree with Korthagen's conclusion that the realistic approach shows an optimistic new direction in the integration of theory and practice, if only in its acceptance of the necessity and centrality of individual's experiences and prior knowledge.

The staged model is scrutinized by Ellis (2010) in his analysis of the Oxford Internship Scheme, which includes a questioning of the linear models of progression through the training year. This thinking is also present in Ellis's earlier exploration of complex chronologies in the development of three beginning English teachers (Ellis, 2009). For Grace, Ann and Liz, their thinking develops throughout their training year in harmony with and as a result of their various experiences in their individual settings. This development is recursive and continuous and recursive as prior events and participations are reanalyzed through each new experience, 'the past is remade and reinterpreted through the present with a view towards a future identity (becoming an English teacher)' (Ellis 2009 p151).

This iterative process is not restricted to processes of learning to teach in England. In her exploration of two novice teachers from different US programmes (Urban Teacher Residency and a university-based teacher programme), Gatti (2016) found the pathway of learning to teach to be 'a non-linear, recursive, and messy process' (p54). In the case of one of her participants, Sam, it was engagement with the relational aspects of teaching that 'catalyzed profound shifts in her understanding' as she observed her interactions with students on video. Her learning to teach process is inextricably linked to her learning to know her students and developing the confidence to 'make herself be known by and vulnerable with her students' (p78). It is not Sam's movement through a series of practiced encounters over time that impact on her development, nor her passage through a linear process, but her engagement with the relational aspects of her teaching in order to centre her own identity as a teacher. As Britzman (2003) found in the developmental journeys of Jack August and Jamie Owl, 'a linear and literal sense of time could not account for the ways in which student teachers produce their identities' (p234). Both the learning and the emergence of identities are non-linear and, significantly, subject to change. Inherent in the linear pathway or staged progression is an assumption of fixed identity and views with learning consolidated at each stage. However, as Britzman (2003) advocates, the very act of teaching affects and changes the visions of practice that students hold and are 'continually being reworked and reinvented' (p73).

Lampert (2010) questions the relevance to the educational landscape of a definition of practice as separate from theory and, indeed, its dichotomous simplicity is not that helpful. Significantly, such a distinction fails to address the biography of the would-be teacher themselves. As Britzman (2003) notes, 'For it is not just the university that fashions the student teacher's pedagogy; the student teacher's life history, both in and out of classrooms, offers definitions of what it means to learn and to teach.' (p62). However, it cannot be denied that a separation of theory and practice has been present in the rhetoric of government policies regarding teacher education in England and has helped to shape the training landscape.

2.4 Situating the study

This study focuses on the experiences of trainee secondary teachers and how the choice of training environment impacts on their development as professional

practitioners. The majority of the participants are following English subject courses. Although the research is based in England, inspiration is also taken from the US. The differing contexts are not limiting and serve to highlight the global nature of issues surrounding teacher education. For example, in their discussion of the trend towards practice-based learning in US teacher education, Zeichner and Bier (2015) consider a variety of routes into teaching, finding that school based programmes are often lacking in the vision to conceptualize the profession as a whole. Citing Ellis (2010), Zeichner and Bier bemoan the marginalisation of the universities in favour of a move towards school-based teacher education 'characterised by impoverished views of the role of experience in learning to teach.' (p37).

2.4.1 The making of teachers

The title of this research project 'The Making of Teachers' alludes to Pam Grossman's seminal book '*The Making of a Teacher'* (1990) in which she charts the passage of six US English teaching students. Through a series of case studies, she explores the experiences of Jake, Lance and Kate who began teaching without formal teacher education and Steve, Vanessa and Megan, graduates with Master's degrees and English secondary teaching credentials. Grossman's work foresees the current situation with teacher education, albeit from a US perspective. 'With widespread predictions of coming teacher shortages, we face a crisis in teacher education. The temptation to take shortcuts in preparing teachers will only increase.' (p147).

Grossman identifies four general areas of teacher knowledge, described as 'cornerstones for the professional knowledge for teaching' (p5): General pedagogical knowledge; subject matter knowledge; pedagogical content knowledge and knowledge of context. The focus in her study is on pedagogical content knowledge (PCK), with Grossman citing her professional relationship with Lee Shulman in her methodology. Her accounts of the different teachers centre on four identified elements of PCK: conceptions of purposes for teaching subject matter; knowledge of students' understanding; curricular knowledge and knowledge of instructional strategies.

The case studies contrast learning 'on the job' with learning from professional education. Although all six teachers reported learning from their practical experience, it is made clear that those without university training found it harder to utilises the prior knowledge of their students and anticipate difficulties. Jake, in particular,

struggled to understand why the students in his care failed to connect with the material, 'I don't know what to do to help them… Sometimes I feel like I'm banging my head against the wall' (p108). Grossman advocates teacher education as providing a framework to help shape the learning from experience,

> 'Without a framework for making sense of how students learn to read literature and to write well, and a repertoire or instructional strategies that support student learning, teachers may find it difficult to learn from experience.' (Grossman, 1990 p108).

Grossman acknowledges that prospective teachers are unlikely to make connections between the theoretical and the practical alone and an emphasis on 'principled practice' that asks why we teach particular things in a certain way is welcomed. In the case of Vanessa, collegial interaction proved to be very important, 'She felt strongly that much of her learning occurred through her interactions with peers during her teacher education program, in which sharing and collegiality were encouraged.' (p75). There is an emphasis on reflection and internalized learning, reminiscent of Dewey's distinction between the inner and external attention of children (Dewey, 1904).

In essence, the study illustrates the potential connections between pedagogical content knowledge and subject-specific pedagogical coursework. For three of the teachers, their subject-specific methods course at college 'proved to be a powerful source of pedagogical content knowledge.' (Grossman, 1990 p146). This emphasis on subject-specific coursework is less pronounced in Grossman's later work where it is the last of the four identified general areas of teacher knowledge, knowledge of instructional strategies, that takes precedent. The emphasis is placed on the development of core practices as a means of addressing the complexities of teaching (Grossman et al., 2009). In contrast, in '*The Making of a Teacher'*, Grossman emphasises the role of teacher education in providing the necessary frameworks for learning, without which 'learning from experience can be haphazard, idiosyncratic, and even misleading.' (Grossman, 1990 p111).

Grossman asks whether teacher education can make a difference, concluding that her case studies suggest an 'image of the possible' where the influence of subject-specific coursework on practice is evidenced. In her critique of Grossman's book, Comeaux (1991) accepts this claim but also references a lack of contextual detail and exploration of relationships, 'It was as though the teachers taught in a vacuum' (p381). Although

Grossman does explore the relationship between subject-specific coursework and the development of the teachers' practice, it is the case that there is less consideration given to the social processes at work in schools. Equally, the impact of personal biography and values on their development as teachers is not full articulated, although it is noted that there is no expectation or requirement that it would be within the chosen multiple case study methodology.

A richer picture of the lived experience of trainee or preservice teachers is provided by Britzman (2003)'s ethnographic study of Jack August and Jamie Owl, illuminating particularly in their imperfections, 'Jamie and Jack are far from ideal student teachers, and their experiences are somewhat less than ideally educative' (Florio-Ruane & Smith, 2004 p626). Jack August and Jamie Owl are caught in what Britzman terms the oxymoronic state of being a student teacher, 'caught in a messy process of theorising whom they were becoming when they were learning to teach' (Britzman, 2003 p252). Britzman highlights the struggles of learning to teach in more depth than Grossman, commenting on the contradictory nature of student teaching and expanding on her earlier descriptions of the process as both a time of 'getting one's feet wet' and a 'sink-or-swim experience' (Britzman, 1986 p443).

2.4.2 Other studies

There have been a number of studies that explore the experiences of trainee teachers in England, often with a focus on English teaching. Set against the neo-liberal political agenda of New Labour, Coles and Pitfield (2006) undertook a two-year study looking at different PGCE routes for English teachers at Goldsmiths, University of London. Their research sought an answer to the question 'How to be an English teacher?' and comprised questionnaires and interviews with trainee teachers on different PGCE routes. The importance of a learning community was a recurring theme in participant responses. A space for reflection on the diverse models of English was seen as essential by the authors, given what they identify as the 'contested' history of English as a subject. They found Graduate Teacher Programme trainees to have a '...thirst for 'academic' exploration' and were 'hugely thankful for substantial college contact in their first term…' (p291). Coles and Pitfield's findings highlighted the perceived need for a greater emphasis on partnership, '…our contention is that a more collaborative model of teacher education, which involves schools, HEIs and student teachers in a

balanced partnership, is most likely to foster flexible, reflective and responsive practitioners.' (p284).

Furlong (2000) sees the university tutor as vital in offering an alternative perspective to the school-based setting. This view is supported by McIntyre and Jones (2014), whose study of current and former ITE students from employment based and university based PGCE courses found that the role of the visiting university tutor aided students in the engagement with 'lived space', against the often prescriptive conceived spaces of placements. The university becomes a place of reflection where students could explore their ideologies about English teaching and the visiting tutor becomes the link back to that space. As one student comments, 'I found that the tutor visits prevented me from slipping away and losing touch with what I believed in' (p37). Their research found that it was in the university environment and through conversations with university tutors that trainee teachers were able to move towards seeing beyond narrow pedagogy, dominated by assessment. University based ITE programmes were found to offer the space for critical reflection as 'beginning teachers are asked to engage critically with dominant subject pedagogies and explore alternatives, to continually revisit the question of what it is to be an ethical professional English teacher' (p35).

Stevens, Hodges, Gibbons, Hunt and Turvey (2006)'s research into pedagogical connections between undergraduate studies and experience as student teachers arose from 'debates about (dis)continuity in notions of English teaching between undergraduate studies and the PGCE' (p97). The study focused on PGCE English students in five different university settings in England, and the questions about reflexivity that their study raised have now become embedded in their ITE courses. As with McIntyre and Jones' findings, the capacity for reflection is seen as synonymous with the higher education environment. Hagger, Burn, Mutton and Brindley (2008)'s research with PGCE students in a school-based teacher training partnership took the form of semi-structured interviews focused on the student teachers' perceptions of their own learning. They conclude that although student teachers were in no doubt about the benefit of learning from experience in schools, this also could lead to a narrow conception of learning and teaching and was unlikely to lead to teachers 'developing the commitment, confidence, analytic expertise and

habits necessary for critically examining their developing practice and thinking' (p176).

In her small-scale case study, Woodbury (2017) explores the perceptions of stakeholders of two of the main routes into teaching, the PGCE and School Direct. Again, the space for reflection on the university-led course is noted, with the emergence of communities of practice (Lave & Wenger, 1991) on the PGCE courses. As PGCE student Jack observes, '*these CoP, these connections remain after the PGCE has finished'* (Woodbury, 2017 p85). Similar communities of practice are also observed with School Direct trainees in schools, but these are not necessarily comprised of other beginning teachers. Woodbury accentuates the fact that the move away from university-led ITT provision in England contrasts with other high performing countries. She cites OECD data from 2011 that ranks Finland, Singapore and Shanghai in the top three countries, who 'although they have strong practical elements, retain university-based provision' (p81). Although the scale of this study is small (semi-structured interviews with two ITE staff from a university; two staff from School Direct partnership schools; a PGCE HEI trainee and a School Direct trainee), the engagement with personal experience is rich and offers insight into the ideologies of stakeholders in differing positions. Ultimately, Woodbury avoids judgement on the relative merits of the different routes, agreeing with the findings of the Carter Review that 'it is very difficult to draw conclusions about whether one route into teaching is any more effective than another' (Carter, 2015 p45, cited in Woodbury, 2017 p87).

Alongside the qualitative studies, there is research that adopts a quantitative approach to analysing the impact of differing environments for teacher education. The case for teacher education in university settings is made with passion by Hodgson (2014) in his analysis of the online survey of professional opinion conducted by the National Association for the Teaching of English (NATE) in 2012-13. Although the research is relatively small and self-selecting, it is indicative of the attitudes towards school-led provision at the time. The survey followed the email from the Teaching Agency, sent to all teacher training providers on 15 June 2012, with the statement that, 'by the end of the Parliament (2015) we expect as many as 10,000 students a year could be trained by schools that are either School Direct places or are fully accredited providers of teacher training.' (quoted in Hodgson, 2014 p9). The survey's request for comments to be provided alongside the quantitative data leads to a plethora of responses from

practitioners, including frequent references to schools' ‘lack of capacity’ and the loss of the ‘space to reflect’ that the universities provide for trainees. The conclusions drawn from the survey on the potential impact of school-led provision on the quality of teacher education are damning, ending with a historical analogy, 'It is hard to resist the conclusion that the trainee will in fact be a 21st century version of the Victorian pupil teacher’ (p24). It should be noted that only 14.7% of respondents to Hodgson’s survey identified as students or NQTs in their first year and perhaps a more negative response from experienced teacher educators and practitioners faced with a challenge to the status quo is not wholly surprising. The survey is useful in capturing the mood of the profession at a moment in time and it cannot be dismissed that 665 of the 730 respondents (91.5%) believed that the quality of teacher education would suffer as a result of the substantial movement to a school-led system.

In contrast, Gorard (2016)'s re-analysis of the 2015 Department for Education survey of 7,770 NQTs did not reveal a fundamental difference between training routes. In analysing the responses to the question about overall satisfaction, Gorard found generally high level of satisfaction across all routes, concluding that there is ‘no particular reason to promote or support either route at the expense of the other, at least in terms of NQT satisfaction.’ (p16). The data indicates that those following school-centred initial teacher training routes for either primary or secondary were slightly more satisfied with their preparation overall, whilst on secondary routes, NQTs were more satisfied if their route and/or provider had secured a higher OFSTED grade. Gorard’s conclusion, therefore, does not distinguish between routes but recommends both school-led and HEI-led, ‘...all other things being equal, successful SCITTs courses and routes via the most traditional university routes should be favoured.’ (p16). There are, of course, issues when assessing satisfaction from self-reported data as respondents are likely to favour the route and/or provider that they have chosen as it is difficult to assess an alternative that you have not experienced. There is also a lack of data for dropouts, or those who achieved qualified teacher status but chose not to enter teaching. However, the study is sufficiently large to warrant consideration and does give an insight into the attitude of a specific cohort towards their teacher preparation.

2.5 Conclusion

This study is concerned with the lived experience of trainee teachers. Illuminating the nature of learning on postgraduate education courses has the potential to pull policy in new directions. Describing a 'vigorous period of change' internationally in teacher education, Tatto, Richmond and Carter Andrews (2016) call for more research focused on the questions of 'who should teach, and where and how [should] teachers learn to teach'(p248). This research addresses this call and the choice of an ethnographic approach ensures that the focus is deep rather than shallow and grounded in the realities experienced by trainee secondary teachers.

The research is rooted in a belief that the practice of teaching, and by association the learning of that practice, is more than an expression of what a teacher does, as promoted by advocates of the core practices movement. In keeping with an anthropological tradition, the making of teachers is seen here as being concerned with the formation of an identity that combines the personal with the 'collective space of cultural forms and social relations' (Holland, Lachoitte, Skinner & Cain, 1998 p5). In the following chapter, this sociocultural perspective is explored further, along with a review of the literature around teacher identity.

Chapter 3: Review of Literature - Identity and the formation of the teacher

The first research question, 'How do trainee secondary teachers learn to teach in different postgraduate teacher training settings?' addresses the nature of learning that takes place on postgraduate routes, whilst the second question specifically addresses personal and professional development, asking 'How do the teacher identities of trainee secondary teachers develop over the course of their training year?' In this study identity is explored as trainee teachers define and redefine themselves through the everyday life events encountered in their professional and training contexts.

This chapter addresses issues of identity and the formation of the teacher. The approach adopted is broadly sociocultural, with an understanding of learning as a social process, with emphasis on the interaction between developing people and the culture in which they live. American philosopher, sociologist, and psychologist George Herbert Mead fused the concepts of identity with that of the self, advocating that it is through our communications with others that we learn and adapt,

> '…the behaviour of an individual can be understood only in terms of the behaviour of the whole social group of which he is a member, since his individual acts are involved in larger, social acts which go beyond himself and which implicate the other members of the group.' (Mead, 2015 p6-7).

Although the stance adopted here is sociocultural, framing social practices as situated and making sense as a social process 'always situated within a cultural and historical context' (Bruner and Haste, 1987 p1), there is also recognition of the Vygotskian observed link between human consciousness and practical activity. This cultural-historical line is directly relevant to teacher education and a conceptualisation of learning to teach identified by Ellis, Edwards and Smagorinsky (2010),

> '…a continual, mutually mediating process of appropriation and socialisation, where practitioners take on the cultural practices that are valued in the social situations of their development – whether these settings are schools or universities – and employ them in turn to shape that social situation.' (p4).

It is not the intention of this study to debate the nuances of the differences between sociocultural and cultural-historical stances but more to accept that the combination of such ideas offer a 'rich conceptual toolbox' with which to answer some of the vexing questions about how teachers learn and how they might learn better' (Ellis et al., 2010 p3-4).

In exploring issues of identity, this chapter first addresses the nature of the teacher and how professional identity is a product of both previous experience and ongoing interactions with others. The extent to which individuals influence and control their development speaks to issues of agency, situated in social contexts but impacted on by personal emotions. Finally, the reconstructions that take place in the learning and development of teachers are addressed, informed by consideration of points of transition and contradiction.

3.1 Teacher identity

Whilst there is agreement that the formation of a teacher identity is a key aspect of becoming a teacher (see for example Flores & Day, 2006; Izadinia, 2013; Nguyen & Loughland, 2017), an explicit definition of teacher identity proves elusive in the literature. In their overview of research, Beauchamp and Thomas (2009) note how teacher identity is influenced by interaction with relevant others in a professional context. As such, it is neither fixed nor finite but necessitates change on entry into the training arena,

> 'Clearly, student teachers must undergo a shift in identity as they move through programs of teacher education and assume positions as teachers in today's challenging school contexts.' (p175).

Teaching encapsulates both the personal and the professional and reconciling the two dimensions can be problematic, a 'complex internal process that includes 'struggling' with questions such as 'who am I as a teacher?' and 'what kind of teacher do I want to become?'' (Beijaard & Meijer, 2017 p177). Beliefs that trainee teachers already hold before entering the teaching environment act as a filter for all other inputs, including training and education, providing the foundations for the developing professional identity (Britzman, 1986; Flores & Day, 2006). As prospective teachers transition from student to teacher, previously stable beliefs may become precarious. This change is complex and fraught with tensions (Pillen, Beijaard, & den Brok, 2013).

Defining identity as pertaining to a 'kind of person' within a particular context, Gee (2001) identifies four ways that identity might be perceived: nature-identity (stemming from one's natural state); institution-identity (derived from a position recognized by authority); discourse-identity (resulting from the discourse of others about oneself) and affinity–identity (determined by one's practices in relation to external groups).

The four strands are not necessarily separate and 'may very well all be present and woven together as a given person acts within a given context' (p101). This framework is pertinent to teacher education, reflecting the complexity of emerging teacher identity as an entity that is not fixed but negotiated through experience and interactions with others.

Gee (2003) further develops concepts of identity in relation to the video gaming world. In this arena, players are free to project values and desires onto a virtual character, unshackled by the context of the real world. In this space, the player has the power to mould the future of their avatar, 'seeing the virtual character as one's own project in the making, a creature whom I imbue with a certain trajectory through time defined by my aspirations for what I want that character to be and become.' (p55). Such freedoms are not always afforded in the training context, where trainees 'set about to accentuate the identities of their teaching selves in contexts that are already overpopulated with the identities and discursive practices of others.' (Britzman, 2003 p221).

3.1.1 Social participation

Teacher identity is often defined in terms of the relevance of interaction with others in the professional context (see for example Atkinson, 2004; Sachs, 2005; Flores & Day, 2006). As Hall et al. (2012) note, 'identities are about ways of participating in a practice and ways of thinking about the practice.' (p106). An emphasis on learning as social participation is explored by Wenger (1998) who sees identity construction as occurring through the participation of members in a community of practice. The impact of involvement in a community of professionals can be profound, demonstrating the influence of the school context,

> 'It might be expected that new teachers, whose identities are only tentative, will particularly feel the impact of a community context and will need to be aware of the shaping of their own identities that will take place in this context.' (Beauchamp and Thomas 2009 p180).

The process of socialisation in learning is further highlighted by Ó Gallchóir et al. (2018). Their exploration of meaning making in the development of seven initial teachers on a Teacher Education programme in the Republic of Ireland emphasises the ongoing nature of learning, sitting in opposition to the linear or staged models of development that positions initial teachers as moving through a sequential

development (Furlong & Maynard, 1995). Ó Gallchóir et al. (2018) pay particular attention to the role of the school placement in enacting identity change as initial teachers transition from the protected training environment into practice in schools. Their findings point to a preoccupation amongst the participants with their physical presence and how that links to ideas of a 'good' or 'bad' teacher. Having managed to overcome this in their reflections, the initial teachers then displayed some 'identity unease or distress' resulting from what is defined as a 'dissonance between their expectations / preconceptions of School Placement and their lived experience'(p145). This was particularly evident in the reflection of two of the participants who struggled to identify as a teacher at all when removed from the environment of the school placement,

> 'Luke and Evan appear to be contextually splitting the role (identity). This would undoubtedly have ramifications for the pre-service teachers' development if they felt a student identity was enacted on campus rather than a pre-service (student) teacher identity.' (p148).

This contextual categorisation of initial teachers into separate identities is not confined to Ireland. For example, Zeichner and Tabachnik (1981) refer to the 'washout effect' in the US whereby content from the campus experience is diluted or removed by the School Placement. Ó Gallchóir et al. (2018) question the value of 'directing content at student teachers during the on-campus portion of their ITE programmes if the so-called 'teacher' portion of their identities is dormant until entering a schooling context' (p152).

There is agreement in the literature that identity is shaped through learning and teaching experiences, but professional identities are also vulnerable during the first experiences of teaching practice. Long, Hall, Conway and Murphy (2012)'s Ireland based study following the Postgraduate Diploma in Education (roughly equivalent to PGCE in England) anticipated that interviews with participants would reveal the deployment of a variety of differing strategies in their development of a teacher identity. In actuality, what the data revealed was a lack of certainty, 'rather than having a list of strategies at their finger tips, most students were quite unsure about how to negotiate their identities as professionals' (p621). They encountered a preference for invisibility, with participants hoping to 'glide past without anyone noticing' rather than confronting their learning needs and identities as teachers.

3.1.2 Cultural myths and the formation of the teacher

The relevance of personal school experience to the development of teachers has been widely documented (see for example Britzman & Pitt, 1996; Furlong, 2000; Flores & Day, 2006; Britzman, 2007). As Furlong (2000) notes, 'No student teacher…enters the classroom as a complete novice' (p14). All prospective teachers have an experience of teachers but not of the emotional journey of becoming a teacher. Drawing on Anna Freud's notion of 'learning twice', Britzman and Pitt (1986) explore the centrality of learning from the students in the room, as unresolved conflicts with both the self and others inform new interactions. Learning is cast 'forward and backward' as aspiring teachers reflect on their own past conflicts whilst responding to the actual experiences of the students in their classes.

Central to Britzman's work is an engagement with teaching as a social process, influenced by personal biography. Britzman references three cultural 'myths' around the formation of the teacher, namely: everything depends on the teacher; the teacher is the expert and teachers are self-made. All promote 'rugged individualism' which 'dissolves the social context' of teaching and learning to teach. As Britzman (1986) emphasises, individualism can result in imitation,

> 'Once the student teacher is severed from the social context of teaching, the tendency is to reproduce rather than to challenge her or his institutional biography.' (p453).

The first of the cultural myths, 'everything depends on the teacher', rests on the mutual understanding of teachers and students that the teacher is expected to establish control and that, if they fail, control will be handed to the students. As with all the myths identified by Britzman, this is isolating and limiting as, 'When everything depends on the teacher, the teacher's role is confined to controlling the situation' (p450). This myth also diminishes the role of learning for the prospective teacher as 'the student in each student teacher often becomes repressed and denied' (p449). The lack of focus on learning is at the heart of the 'teacher as expert' myth, playing to the cultural expectations that teachers will have the answers. Ongoing learning is marginalised, with the expert stance seen as particularly problematic for the student teacher who is 'simultaneously being educated as a student while educating others' (p450). The idea of the teacher as an autonomous individual is reinforced, with knowledge seen as being acquired only through experience. As such, the emotionality is denied. Finally, the

myth that ‘teachers are self-made’ juxtaposes the conflicting views that ‘teachers form themselves and are born into the profession’ (p451). Personal autonomy takes the place of social relationships and the relevance of theory is replaced by the image of the natural teacher, where pedagogy becomes a cult of personality and is reduced to teaching style alone. Belief in this myth is exemplified in the story of Jack August and is a constant source of struggle as he endeavours to make sense of his college programme,

> *‘I think teaching is something that I’m going to learn how to do myself. Nobody is going to be able to teach me. You have to rely on your own experience. I think you have to do it and develop your own style.’* (Britzman, 2003 p230).

As Britzman (2003) comments, 'This myth shut out the social basis of teaching as well as thwarted his understanding of how personal development is an effect of social forces and interactions’ (p173).

The constant promotion of individualism in these cultural myths denies the trainee teacher the necessary social interaction and engagement with the emotionality of learning to teach. In their interpretive analysis of 4-year education student, Ciara, Hinchion and Hall (2015) explore this emotionality, using Britzman’s writings as their ‘kaleidoscopic lens.’ The charting of Ciara’s journey of learning to teach often takes her back to revisit previous worlds, analysing the impact of schooling on her past and present. It leads the authors to pose the question, ‘What should we do to help student teachers to understand the emotional past as seamed into the emotional present?’ (p43). The formation of the teacher identity is fraught with contradiction and causes Ciara to frequently reexamine her attitude both to herself and her learning. She is caught in the conflicted state of being both learner and teacher. Britzman (2003) highlights the paradox,

> ‘This is the difficult process of making sense of, and acting within, self-doubt, uncertainty, and the unexpected, while assuming a role which requires confidence, certainty, and stability.’ (p452).

A similar paradoxical situation for teacher educators in the UK is explored by Edwards, Hartley and Gilroy (2002). They juxtapose the complexity of teaching with the simplicity of contemporary Government rhetoric that classified teaching as ‘common sense’. Teacher educators that try to articulate the complexity are, therefore,

dismissed as self-serving academics, out of touch with classroom reality. By necessity, teacher educators are forced to simplify the complexities, thus becoming victims of what David Hartley (1997) refers to as a 'discourse of duplicity'. Both examples point toward a need to embrace the uncertainties of education. Edwards et al. (2002) call for a rethinking of the professionalism of teachers and a move towards teacher education that is not limited to curriculum, but instead is '…geared towards creating teachers who seek and interrogate uncertainty' (p134). This parallels Britzman's reference to self-doubt and uncertainty. By subscribing to cultural myths, trainee teachers are limited as they struggle to cope with the pressures to embody an authoritative discourse on teaching that sees learning as synonymous with control. In this power struggle, learning is dependent on the teacher establishing order and maintaining the stability of the institution. There is no room for experimentation and uncertainty is positioned as a 'character flaw' that is not welcome in a profession dependent on expertise and compliance (Florio-Ruane & Smith, 2004). Adherence to the myth that everything depends on the teacher can only lead to introspection and self-blame in place of engagement with the complexity of pedagogical encounters.

3.2 Identity and agency

The link between identity and agency is evident both in the literature on identity in teaching (see for example Day, Kington, Stobart & Sammons, 2006; Beijaard & Meijer 2017) and notably in the broader consideration of identity and agency provided by Holland et al. (1998). Their exploration of identity draws on the writings of Vygotsky, Bakhtin and Bourdieu to address the paradoxical notion of people being both products of social discipline and capable of improvisation. People associate with cultural forms and practices, combining the 'intimate or personal world' with the 'collective space of cultural forms and social relations' (p5). Identity is presented as being about how people learn to understand themselves, how they 'figure' who they are in the 'worlds' that they inhabit and the interactions that take place within them. This concept of Figured Worlds focuses on individual's ability to make changes and choices. Through the Figured Worlds lens, people are actors who can both adhere to or depart from the script of the Figured World narrative. As Brown (2017) notes, it offers both freedom and constraint,

> ‘The figured world can be a site of possibility where individuals have agency and choice in the roles they act out. Contradictory to this, the figured world is also a site of constrained social reality that is situated within and mediated by relations of power, meaning that sometimes individuals act out the script given to them.’ (p84).

Holland et al. (1998)’s ethnographic descriptions of a range of microcultures including members of Alcoholics Anonymous groups and Hindu females in Nepalese villages illuminates their theories. It is evident that the figured world construct could easily be applied to education and the worlds encountered by those learning to teach. Appropriation (or not) of the figured worlds encountered during the training year looks towards the agency of trainee teachers and the formation of their teacher identity.

Sharing this cultural-historical perspective, Edwards (2017) presents agency as crucially linked to the environment where it unfolds. Drawing on Vygotsky’s concept of the social situation of development (SSD), defined in *The Problem of Age* as the ‘system of relations between the child of a given age and social reality’ (Vygotsky, 1998), Edwards presents student teachers as agentic learners struggling with making sense of public meanings whilst connecting with their own personal sense-making, the internalisation and externalisation of learning in Vygotskian terms. Success is invariably equated with behaviour management, as shown by the interviewees in Hall et al. (2012)’s study who reported, ‘the single most important marker of getting it right as a teacher is being in control of the class.’ (p108). The avoidance of risk can limit the creation of SSDs as student teachers ‘cannot present themselves to pupils as confused, frustrated or stuck, so they avoid situations where that might happen’ (Edwards, 2017 p275). Edwards sees the meditating role of the co-operating teacher (or school-based mentor) as crucial in focusing on the demands on student teachers that can be met, allowing for the rise of agency. This is the role of Vygotsky’s more capable other, monitoring and assisting learners with ‘connecting their private sense making with public meaning.’ (p280). Theorising the concept of professional agency, Edwards (2015) observes how professions are strengthened by collaborative work and the internal and external enactment of values and commitment. School mentors and teacher educators have a pivotal role to play in ‘making professional values explicit, connecting beginning teachers with the purposes of education and demonstrating peer expectations of professional commitment…’ (p784).

Connection to wider professional values are essential to the development of teacher agency but the realisation of this requires the commitment of both training providers and schools. Ellis (2010) argues that teacher education in England is thwarted by an 'impoverished version of experience' in schools, arising from a view of knowledge as transferred from teacher to learner with priority given to the acquisition of centrally prescribed skills and curricula content. Dismissing Hagger and McIntyre (2006)'s view of the relevance of school experience as self-evident, Ellis instead calls for school-based teacher education to recognize and plan for the agency of initial teachers in 'engaging with the social systems within which they are working.' (p112).

3.2.1 Managing emotions

Towards the end of his life, Vygotsky developed the concept of *perezhivanie*, describing how the influence of any environment on a child is filtered through their emotional experience. It is not the presence of factors in an environment that influence development but 'the same factors refracted through the prism of the child's emotional experience [*perezhivanie*].' (Vygotsky, 1994 p339). This idea is pertinent to teaching and teacher education as it accentuates the extent to which learning is influenced both by the capacity to interpret and question social practices and by the emotional reactions to such observations. As Edwards (2010) summarises,

> 'Supporting student teachers therefore involves helping them to manage their relationships with the social situations of their development, to seek complexity in learners and tasks, and to recognise resources that will support their actions. All that while also attending to the emotional aspects of identity formation within the nested contexts of learning to teach.' (p67).

In reviewing the literature on emotion, Roth (2007) identifies ways in which emotion is seen as integral to practical action. Whilst a person's emotional state shapes both their reasoning and their actions, practical action is seen as directed towards emotionally positive outcomes, 'we act so that we are better off in the long run, even if it means that we have to incur costs in the form of emotional hardship in the short term.' (p44). This is particularly pertinent to the world of work, where social mediation may lead to the enactments of collective emotions learned through interactions with other members of the culture. For the trainee teacher, a desire to be accepted into the working practices of departments in placement schools could have a profound effect on their actions and interactions, particularly as their reaction to their environment is inevitably filtered through their emotional state. Emotion and motivation are,

therefore, inextricably linked and impact on the formation of identity in the social environment. As Roth (2007) notes, 'who I am with respect to others and myself is fundamentally related to my participation in collective activity.' (p60).

Holodynski (2013) identifies emotion as comprising the elements of appraisal, expression, body regulation, and subjective feeling. Appraisal of an internal or external factor results in reactions that are felt subjectively and expressed though bodily sensations. Citing Vygotsky's principle of internalization, Holodynski asserts that such feelings might not result in the outward display of intensive expression, 'the subjective feeling component of an emotion can be composed of proprioceptive sensations of expression signs that can be internalized to such an extent that outsiders can no longer perceive them' (p20-1). The management of emotionality in the process of learning to teach is, therefore, further complicated by the possibility of emotional invisibility as trainees attempt to navigate the often-contradictory spaces in which they work unobserved.

3.2.2 Resistance and agency

Sannino (2010) highlights the 'positive connection' between resistance and agency, utilising the discursive process called experiencing. She charts the progress of her research intervention in an Italian high school whereby participants confronted and worked out the conflicts and contradictions of their teaching practice. Drawing on the work of Vasilyuk (1988), she suggests that, 'Through tensions and confrontations, the process of experiencing opens up possibilities for the individuals to face and work out their contradictory motives together with others' (p840). This collaborative approach is difficult to achieve within the training process when colleagues in schools are also acting as assessors and trainees are bound by the ideologies and practices of their training providers. It is likely that such 'experiencing' will become easier with the passage of time and the movement away from the 'trainee' status to that of qualified teacher.

Smagorinsky, Lakly and Johnson (2002)'s study of six preservice teachers from a university cohort over a two-year period highlights how the process of figuring out an identity as a teacher can be hindered by the existence of values and practices that contradict personal views and beliefs. Their research charts the trials of participant and co-author Andrea as she grapples with the imposition of a state-wide curriculum,

an initiative that deviates from her own beliefs about English teaching, 'Andrea often felt handcuffed by requirements and at odds with the curriculum she was required to teach' (p196). In their analysis of the data, they utilise the codes of accommodation ('a grudging effort to reconcile personal beliefs about teaching with the values of the curriculum'); acquiescence ('acceptance of, compliance with, or submission to the curriculum') and resistance ('opposition to the curriculum, either overtly or subversively' p201). Notably, it is only after three years that Andrea feels able to benefit from her dancing of the '"acquiescence, accommodation, resistance" waltz' (p211). Away from the teacher training environment, the now embedded teacher has the agency to draw on her experiences to enact change. As Kindred (1999) observes, 'as an application of past tools and concepts to new opportunities, resistance reveals the need and provides the basis for a developmental shift' (p218). As such, resistance becomes the basis for potential transformation.

3.2.3 Transformative agency

The concept of transformative agency is rooted in notions of expansive learning, a 'creative type of learning in which learners join their forces to literally create something novel, essentially learning something that does not yet exist' (Sannino, Engeström, & Lemos, 2016 p603). Transformative agency requires 'breaking away from the given frame of action' in order to transform it. The initiative is taken, but not at an individual level,

> 'Transformative agency differs from conventional notions of agency in that it stems from encounters with and examination of disturbances, conflicts and contradictions in the collective activity. Transformative agency develops the participants' joint activity by explicating and envisioning new possibilities.' (Haapasaari, Engeström and Kerosuo, 2016 p233).

It is, therefore, through collective change efforts that transformative agency is produced and sustained, moving beyond individual and situational actions in order to expand.

Although few recent studies in the literature focus specifically on transformative agency, Bajaj (2018) does present a conceptualised model which includes sustained agency (where agency is sustained across contexts and time) and relational agency, the 'capacity to recognise others as resources, to elicit their interpretations and to negotiate aligned action' (Edwards, 2005 p175). Bajaj (2018) uses the concept to

highlight how agency is cultivated through dialogue and interactions in the field of peace, human rights and social justice education. She suggests that sustained agency can arise from specific situations in educational settings but needs to be cultivated beyond the parameters of the immediate context. This could, for example, include alumni groups or contact with mentors. In her earlier study, Bajaj (2009) explores how alternative schooling seeks to disrupt the norms of state schooling in Zambia, necessitating change for the students as on leaving the relative shelter of the school environment they must 'renegotiate their sense of agency based on the dynamic interplay between internal beliefs and external situations'(p552). Although contextually different, a similar process is observable with trainee teachers as they leave the relative shelter of their training programmes and embark on their professional careers in schools. As Sannino and Ellis (2014) state, 'expansive learning is essentially learning something that is not yet there.' (p8). Through challenging existing practices and assumptions in collaboration with others, new teachers may come to break away from previously accepted norms and embrace alternative and innovative ways of working.

3.3 Reconstructing the self

The formation of the professional identity is a complex process that involves a degree of introspection. As Izadinia (2013) comments, 'without making sense of our identities, we are not able to achieve what we want effectively as we are not clear as to where we are headed' (p694). For prospective teachers, the experience is complicated further by the necessity of managing different sites of learning with different cultural norms. Identities are continually challenged as new environments are encountered, necessitating changes to become accepted in the new setting, as 'context is not so much something into which someone is put, but an order of behaviour of which one is part' (McDermott, 1996 p290).

3.3.1 Transition

The transfer of knowledge from one situation or setting to another is explored in the construct of consequential transition proposed by Beach (1999). Beginning with the notion of transfer that involves 'the movement of a person, a transaction, or an object from one place and time to another in our daily lives' (p101), he argues that the essence

of transfer should move beyond the restrictions of this metaphor. Working with the underlying premise that, 'learners and social organisations exist in a recursive and mutually constitutive relation to one another across time' (p111), he offers a reconceptualization of transfer within a sociocultural paradigm.

Beach emphasises, 'At its core, the concept of consequential transition involves a developmental change in the relation between an individual and one or more social activities' (p114). Referencing Dewey's (1916) notion of development as 'becoming', he claims that for consequential transition to take place, there must be a conscious reflection on prior knowledge, resulting in the struggle to apply this experience in alternative contexts. As Crafter and Mauder (2012) observe, he 'in fact argues that transitions are not just about knowledge transfer but about reconstructing what you do' (p7). Adopting a sociocultural framework, Beach identifies four types of consequential transition:

- Lateral Transitions: The unidirectional transition from social activity to another, more developmentally advanced activity. (e.g. the move from primary to secondary education). Here, the notion of progress is inherent.
- Collateral transitions: The simultaneous and multidirectional transition between concurrent activities (e.g. movement between home and school). There is no explicit notion of progress here.
- Encompassing transitions: Transitions that occur within a changing social activity. (e.g. experienced teachers adapting to new educational reform initiatives from the Government). These transitions generally involve a notion of progress, but of the activity rather than of the individuals.
- Mediational transitions: Transitions that occur where an activity is yet to be fully experienced. Similar to Vygotsky's zone of proximal development, these transitions involve a mediation or a 'third object', which bridges the gap between two systems (e.g. vocational training on leaving school prior to employment). Developmental progress for the participating individuals is always a feature of mediated transitions.

Although each transition is different, the common thread is context. Collateral transition is particularly situated, resisting notions of progress as opportunities for learning are defined by the boundaries of each setting. Movement is 'from one

container-like context to another' (Thorpe, Miller, & Edwards, 2005 p7) and the extent to which transfer of learning from one context to another occurs is a key educational issue. A discourse of boundary-crossing and border-crossing is identifiable in the literature (see for example Tuomi-Grohn, Engestrom & Young, 2003; Akkerman & Bakker, 2011) making explicit the social practices and objects through which learning is mediated. For the purposes of this study, the focus is more on the extent to which transition between and within settings impacts on learning and development within an unavoidably social environment. As McDermott (1996) observes,

> 'The question of who is learning what and how much is essentially a question of what conversations they are a part of, and this question is a subset of the more powerful question of what conversations are around to be had in a given culture.' (p295).

Crafter and Mauder (2012) consider what adopting a sociocultural position might mean for practitioners supporting educational transitions and address three implications: the importance of the social; the role of prior experience and a focus on process rather than product. Ultimately, they suggest that 'transitions are complex and multifaceted, involving a search for meaning and shifts in personal identity' (p18). Transitions can be a source of struggle, but also have the potential to alter 'one's sense of self' (Beach, 1999, p114).

3.3.2 Double bind theory

Grappling with identity and transitions can lead to the emergence of binaries or impossible conflicts. Double bind theory, first developed by anthropologist Gregory Bateson (Bateson, Jackson, Haley and Weakland, 1956) addresses such situations. Working from a systematic perspective, Bateson and his research team devised the theory to help explain the psychological roots of schizophrenia which places communication at the heart of human relationships. They detail how a conflict between two or more messages can lead to a communication dilemma; a 'catch 22' situation where no matter what choice is made, the person 'can't win'. Derived from Bertrand Russell's Theory of Logical Types, Bateson's double bind effect becomes apparent as the 'victim' fails to differentiate between logical types and ways of communication. The example is given of a child's attempted interaction with a mother who struggles with affection. Unable to verbalise her emotions, the mother only communicates them through her body language which is interpreted by the child as rejection. There is a

disconnect between the verbal and paralinguistic messages and the child is caught between rejection and affection. His only recourse is to comment on his mother's contradictory behaviour, which would, in turn lead to punishment. He is trapped in the 'double bind' and the resulting conflict manifests itself psychologically, 'Where a person is caught in a double bind situation, he will respond defensively in a manner similar to the schizophrenic' (Bateson et al.,1956 p254).

The simplicity of Bateson's theory proved popular within the analysis of schizophrenic behaviours but has been criticised in so far as it is inconsistent in its application. Just 10 years after Bateson et al.'s publication, critiques of the theory were emerging. Schuham's review concluded that, 'There is no evidence that double-bind communication is exclusive to or differentially associated with pathological communication processes and not associated with normal communication processes' (Schuham, 1967 p414). This is supported by Olsen's extensive 1972 review of the literature pertaining to double bind, which concludes that 'very limited support for the hypothesis that parents of schizophrenics send more double-bind messages than other families' (Olsen, 1972 p4). Key criticisms centred on a question of definition with questioning of the lack of empirical precision. The answer to the question as to why only some people appear vulnerable to double bind led to clinical research focusing on other hypotheses by the end of the 1970s (Gosden, 2001). As Olsen (1972) humorously notes,

> '…one might not too inappropriately respond to the double-bind concept the same way that Lucy does to Charlie Brown: "You're a good concept, Double Bind, if only you weren't so wishy-washy."' (Olsen, 1972 p5).

3.3.3 Contradictions and teacher identity

Despite its critics, outside the clinical world of schizophrenia analysis double bind theory can be useful in communicating the tensions experienced by those facing an impossible choice. This is particularly pertinent to the world of teacher education where people often find themselves simultaneously navigating different contexts. Wardle and Clement (2016) explore how a literate learner encountered and navigated the double bind encountered in a college composition class on repurposing. Co-author Nicolette, used to success and with high self and parental expectations, experiences a contradiction 'wherein her experiences within her family and home community activity systems affected and constrained her experiences in a classroom activity

system' (p167). The rhetorical tasks lead to the double bind, 'in order to succeed at these school tasks, she had to engage in work that pulled her away from some of her communities' (p171). The assignments required her to critique her own class and culture, but her desire to do well and her identity as a 'good student' lead her to respond to the critiques of her tutors, even though this conflicted with her own history and upbringing, 'These attempted resolutions placed her in what Engeström (1987) calls a dilemma situation, and the dilemmas were evident in the papers themselves.' (p171).

Within the wider framework of expansive learning theory, Engeström (1987) adopts the term 'dilemma situation' to refer to the conflict of double bind, emphasising the social and societal nature of any resolution. Individuals cannot act alone,

> 'In double bind situations, the individual, involved in an intense relationship, receives two messages or commands which deny each other - and the individual is unable to comment on the messages, i.e., he cannot make a metacommunicative statement.' (p148).

Within the theory of expansive learning, Engeström (1987) highlights multi-level contradictions, defined in activity theoretical terms as historically accumulating structural tensions, where 'the basic internal contradiction of human activity is its dual existence as the total societal production and as one specific production among many.' (Engeström, 1987 p66). Utilising the four levels of contradiction, Jóhannsdóttir (2010) explores the contradictions experienced by trainee teachers in Iceland working in classrooms whilst also undertaking an online teacher education learning programme. Experience of a double bind situation occurred as they grappled with the 'conflict between ideal type of work and reality in practice' (p315). Jóhannsdóttir' s research over a three-year period allows for analysis of how individuals overcome the double bind situation as they developed their practice.

The specifics of contradiction theory are not explored in this research, but it is evident that the presence of binaries and conflicting practices impact on the experiences of trainee teachers as they grapple with different contexts and expectations. The conflicts of the training year are explored further in the analysis of the data arising from this study in Chapter 8.

3.4 Conclusion

Issues of identity are central to the formation of a teacher. Learning to teach is complex and emotional, a 'process of becoming' (Wenger, 1998 p215) that is messy, recursive and intense. Trainees are not learning 'in a vacuum' (Comeaux, 1991) and encounters with the environment and a changing cast of professionals are pivotal in the construction of the self and the formation of identity. As Holland et al. (1997) observe, 'Socially constructed selves…are subject to positioning by whatever powerful discourses they happen to encounter' (p27). The influence of such 'powerful discourses' is felt acutely at times of transition, when trainees are moving between locations and identities and simultaneously experiencing the oxymoronic state of being both student and teacher. The formation of the teacher identity during the training year is further complicated by the presence of conflicting views and practices, with trainees potentially caught in the 'double bind' (Bateson et al., 1956) of trying to satisfy the demands of differing people and contexts. Appropriation or denial of the figured worlds (Holland et al., 1997) encountered in schools and in training rooms can negate the agency of trainee teachers as they attempt to navigate the year.

In this study, the adoption of an ethnographic stance puts the emphasis on the lived experience of participants, illuminating how learning and development is influenced and shaped by their experiences in school and in their training sites. How they learn on their training programmes is inextricably linked to their own development and identities as teachers, as addressed in the two research questions, 'How do trainee secondary teachers learn to teach in different postgraduate teacher training settings?' and 'How do the teacher identities of trainee secondary teachers develop over the course of their training year?' The following methodological chapter looks more broadly at ethnography as 'both a process and a product' (Britzman, 1995 p229), charting how the selection of an ethnographic approach and a sociocultural perspective for this research allows for the meaningful exploration of the process of learning to teach.

Chapter 4: Methodology and Research Methods

4.1 Ethnography – a methodology

In *The Ethnographic Imagination*, Paul Willis (2000) advocates the practice of ethnography, 'The making of the self, the human meaning-making is the 'there-ness' that is there to be studied and is its own justification for study' (p119). In addressing the research questions in this study, this 'there-ness' is central as the process of learning to teach and the developing teacher identities of the trainees are revealed through the lived experiences of the participants. Gatti (2016) considers a similar area in the US in her book *Towards a Framework of Resources for Learning to Teach* in which she focuses on the process of learning to teach for novice English teachers in an Urban Teacher Residency (UTR) and a university-based programme. Gatti's ethnographic approach is engaging and reminiscent of Britzman (2003)'s critical study of learning to teach, *Practice makes Practice*. In both cases, the stories of the learners are foregrounded and the rich detail of their lived experiences explored. The adoption of ethnography as a methodology is not without its challenges, as expressed by Ball, '…the entire enterprise of ethnography looks from the outset like a combination of Star Trek and Mission Impossible.' (Ball, 1990 p157). Despite its apparent flippancy, this comment does also imply the notion of a journey, a means of coming to an understanding about a specified group through observation and analysis. As Heller (2008) observes, 'Ethnographies allow us to get at things we would otherwise never be able to discover' (p250) and it is the lived experience of the process of learning to teach that this research aims to illustrate.

4.1.1 Defining ethnography

Combining the Greek terms '*ethnos'* meaning people and '*graphia'* meaning writing, the literal translation of ethnography is '*writing about the people'* (Scott Jones & Watt, 2010). However, as Scott Jones and Watt emphasise, the use of '*ethnos'* also suggests people who were non-Greek; a sense of otherness that permeates ethnography. This sense is captured by Atkinson (2015) in his self-professed manifesto '*For Ethnography,'*

> 'The ethnographic gaze captures and calls into question the tensions between the self and the other, between the near and the distant, between the familiar and the strange.' (p5).

The concept of 'making the familiar strange' is essentially ontological; a positioning of the researcher that leads to an interrogation of both the observed and the pre-conceived, as recognised by Ball (1990), 'The choice of ethnography carries with it implications about theory, epistemology, and ontology…ethnography involves risk, uncertainty, and discomfort.' (p157). The idea of interrogating the familiar is pertinent to this study. In analysing the process of learning to teach and the developing teacher identities of trainees it is necessary to look beyond the immediate familiarity of schools and training rooms. As Britzman (1995) states, 'an ethnography takes the reader into an actual world to reveal the cultural knowledge working in a particular place and time as it is lived through the subjectivities of its inhabitants.' (p229).

Ultimately, the ethnographer's aim is to 'document the culture, the perspectives and practices, of the people in [these] settings. The aim is to 'get inside' the way each group of people sees the world' (Hammersley, 1985 p152). Culture is essentially an abstract construct, 'constructed' through interactions and reflected in shared meanings and language. Cultural beliefs and meanings are socially constructed and are situated; specific to a given context. However, they are also not fixed, as meanings are negotiated in a multiple-voiced arena. As Van Maanen (1988) comments, culture is

> '…necessarily a loose, slippery concept, since it is anything but unchanging. Culture is neither prison nor monolith…Culture is not itself visible, but is made visible only through its representation.' (p3).

Ethnography provides the means of that representation, joining culture and fieldwork by sitting between the two worlds of the ethnographer and the cultural members. In revealing the story of the group members, ethnography illuminates the culture. This illumination speaks directly to the research questions for this study. In addressing how trainee secondary teachers learn to teach it is crucial to 'get inside' the cultures of the different postgraduate teacher training settings, exploring the philosophies and working practices of each programme. The second research question addresses how trainee secondary teachers develop as teachers over the course of the year, a development that inevitably takes place in the social settings experienced during the training.

4.1.2 A history of ethnography

Ethnography has a complex and complicated history that has been well documented (see for example Hammersley & Atkinson, 2003; Clair, 2003; Scott Jones, 2010; Adler

& Adler, 2012). Hammersley and Atkinson (2003) see ethnography as originating in the Western anthropology of the late nineteenth century, making a distinction between descriptions of communities and ethnology, where the focus is on 'the historical and comparative analysis of non-western societies and cultures' (p1). They explore the influence of the University of Chicago in developing the case study, preceding the spread of ethnography beyond sociology into other disciplines including psychology and human geography during the twentieth century. Moving away from its anthropological roots, ethnography has become a popular research method and methodology in social science, which has also served to muddy the waters of definition. As Hammersley and Atkinson (2003) observe, the complexity of ethnography's history is 'one of the reasons why 'ethnography' does not have a standard, well-defined meaning…' (p2).

Clair (2003) charts a history of ethnography, tracing its origins to ancient Greece and the writings of Herodotus. He describes waves of colonisation that pass through the exploration of unknown cultures throughout the fifteenth to nineteenth centuries and the advent of urban ethnographies during the 1920s. At this time, The Chicago School brought a focus on the urban poor, with significant contributors including Robert Park with a call for students to engage in 'real research',

> 'Go and sit in the lounges of luxury hotels and on the doorsteps of the flophouses; sit on the Gold Coast settees and on the slum shakedowns; sit in the Orchestra Hall and in the Star and Garter Burlesque. In short go and get the seat of your pants dirty in real research.' (cited in Brewer, 2000 p13).

The urban ethnographies generated from the Chicago School focused on contemporary social change, as observed in the field, a desire to 'explore social change as it happened, and to access and understand social worlds in the phenomenological or interpretivist style' (Scott Jones, 2010 p21). Acknowledging the observational methods of Boas and Lowie, Park and Burgess (2012) calls for the analysis of civilised man rather than primitive cultures, arguing that the same ethnographic methods 'might be even more fruitfully employed in the investigations of the customs, beliefs, social practices and general conceptions of life' (p2) in urban America.

The final wave of colonisation is characterised by Clair (2003) as neo-colonialism, and includes a focus on social reality and the pursuit of meaning characterised by interpretive ethnography, with the importance of language highlighted by Clifford

Geertz's avocation of 'thick description' (Geertz, 1973), a term borrowed from British philosopher Gilbert Ryle. For Geertz, thick description and the study of culture is interpretive, drawing on social discourses which the ethnographer inscribes. It is microscopic in detail, with the analysis 'guessing at meanings, assessing the guesses, and drawing explanatory conclusions from the better guesses' (p20). What is observed is both contextual and specific. Conversely, 'thin description' is presented as a factual account without any interpretation and is dismissed.

Clair concludes that ethnography is founded on a master discourse, the 'study of the Other' (p19). The concept of 'othering' has its origins in the anthropological tradition, with the identification of differences between the observer and the local inhabitants (Atkinson 2015). Representing the other is linked with issues of power and the implication of hierarchy, made more evident when there is a divide in status, 'When the gap in social power between the researcher and the researched is very wide, the representational vulnerability of the research participants is great' (Krumer-Nevo & Sidi, 2012 p299). This type of othering is evident in colonialism and is not fully explored by Clair. There is certainly evidence of this stance in Malinowski's diaries, 'As for ethnography: I see the life of the natives as utterly devoid of interest or importance, something as remote from me as the life of a dog.' (Malinowski, 1967 p167). Alongside warnings of exaggerating cultural differences, Atkinson (2015) also acknowledges the need for the recognition of difference, 'if there is no difference, then there will be no learning, no dialogue, no social science.' (p32).

Clair's 'discourse of colonisation' is helpful in that it addresses the evolution of ethnography but it also suggests a linear development that runs counter to the variation in approaches adopted by researchers over time. The ethnographies of the past inform our analysis of the present (Atkinson 2015) and shape the ongoing evolution of the emic approach. As Scott Jones and Watt (2010) summarise, 'Ethnography has come through the past forty years of social, theoretical, academic and cultural transformation a better and more useful methodology' (p26).

4.1.3 Ethnographic research in education

Ethnography is widely used in educational research. Mills and Morton (2013) see ethnographic educational research in the UK as the 'brainchild' of Max Gluckman, founder of The Department of Social Anthropology at the University of Manchester

in 1947, colloquially known as 'the Manchester School'. Gluckman saw ethnography as a way of engaging teachers and under his management, the department saw funded doctoral research produce innovative ethnographic studies of Manchester schools. Among Gluckman's doctoral students was Colin Lacey, author of *Hightown Grammar: School as a Social System* (1970) who would go on to supervise Stephen Ball in the production of *Beachside Comprehensive* (1981), in which Ball examines the internal organisations of a comprehensive school.

In his *Overview of the History of Educational Ethnography for the Annual Review of Anthropology,* Yon (2003) provides a useful synopsis of educational ethnography, noting the conceptual changes over time, 'Looking back at the 1960s and the preceding decades, we find educational ethnographies preoccupied with the apparent contradiction between the official goals of and their actual effects on schooling' (p416). Yon claims that during the 1970s, there was a redefining of educational ethnography in Britain as 'education was no longer viewed as the unproblematic key to rational, planned, and directed change' (p418). A movement towards cultural studies marked by such publications as Willis's *Learning to Labour* (1977) brought with it an analysis of cultural forms and the function of language and discourse. The adoption of a broader range of conceptual tools and theoretical standpoints during the 1980s and 1990s meant that by the close of the twentieth century 'theories of postmodernism, post-structuralism, and the postcolonial had gained significance and in their various ways eroded the ground upon which earlier ethnographies were built' (p423). A self-reflexive tone and a concern with matters of social justice and inclusion characterise many of the educational ethnographies carried out post 2000. As Yon (2003) concludes,

> 'Whereas schools, in essentially functionalist frameworks, were viewed as microcosms of the society they served, new perspectives enabled them to be seen as sites for addressing concerns with differentiation and discrimination based on class, race, and gender.' (p425).

It has been suggested that the latter decades of the twentieth century represent a heyday for educational ethnography (Walford, 2008), with less pressure on the condensing of doctoral studies to 3-4 years and a receptive approach to the funding of qualitative research. However, ethnographic studies in educational settings are still taking place and funding is available, as is the case in the project detailed here, where financial support has been provided by the Economic and Social Research Council.

4.2 Ethnography as practical activity

Modern ethnographic research is 'intensely practical' (Atkinson 2015), presenting challenges for the uninitiated and inexperienced researcher. Ball (1990) sees the choice of ethnography for the student researcher as a 'plunge into the unknown'; an unteachable methodology that is practice based, 'The only way to get better at it is to do more of it' (p158). The emphasis on practical activity highlights the centrality of the social relationships, in keeping with qualitative research methods and in contrast to a quantitative approach. This practical approach is well suited to the exploration of the research questions for this study, situating the generation of data and subsequent analysis in the social realities of the trainees in the various training settings.

Participant observation has a central position in ethnographic research and is adopted as a research method in this study. The term is attributed to Bronislaw Malinowski, the founding father of ethnographic fieldwork and the practice of participant observation, whose ethnography of the Trobriand Islands culminated in the publication of '*Argonauts of the Western Pacific'* in 1922. Malinowski expounded the immersion of the anthropologist as deeply as possible into the foreign culture, participating in all everyday activities, while observing what was happening. Malinowski's aims were humanitarian, combining participant observation with scientific rigour with the intention of revealing an understanding of the unfamiliar and improving our understanding of ourselves,

> 'Though it may be given to us for a moment to enter into the soul of a savage and through his eyes look at the outer world and feel ourselves what it must feel to him to be himself – yet our final goal is to enrich and deepen our own world's vision, to understand our own nature and to make it finer, intellectually and artistically. In grasping the essential outlook of others, with the reverence and real understanding, due even to savages, we cannot but help widening our own.' (Malinowski, 2014 p514).

The posthumous publication of Malinowski's personal accounts of his experiences, '*A Diary in the Strict Sense of the Term'* (Malinowski, 1967) revealed his moral struggles, containing misanthropic, racist and sexual allusions but has come to be recognised as 'crucial document for the history of anthropology.' (Geertz 1987). Scott Jones (2013) suggests that the publication was a watershed, destroying the Malinowskian myth and starting a process of reflecting on ethnography. Subsequent analyses of Malinowski's methods have revealed problems associated with his intensive fieldwork and the lack

of attention given to his own effect as observer (Young, 1979). Despite his intention to document the lives of the participants, Young claims that his Trobrianders 'rarely came alive as individuals; they are more usually descried in terms of generalised psychology and standard emotions' (Young, 1979 p10).

The term 'participant observation' is itself problematic. O'Reilly (2005) speaks of the difficulties in reconciling its oxymoronic nature, likening it to 'trying to resolve the difference between subjectivity and objectivity, or the need to be scientific while acknowledging that humans create their world.' (p109). Mills and Morton (2013) echo this, commenting that 'much ethnographic ink has been spilt in pursuit of this apparent contradiction, and the term immediately invokes strong feelings' (p52). Noting the contradiction, Scott Jones and Watt (2010) highlight the core values of ethnography, placing participation at the top of their list. However, they do not see ethnography as synonymous with participant observation as it is possible to conduct the latter at a superficial level. Ethnographers, they argue, draw on a range of methods, of which participant observation is central but not exclusive. This thinking is relevant to this study, where participant observation is combined with semi-structured interviews and document analysis to build a complete picture of the training experience.

4.2.1 Membership roles

Hammersley and Atkinson (2003) show some suspicion towards participation, emphasising the necessity of observation and commenting that, 'participation, if necessary at all, is a means to an observational end' (p52). This distinction highlights the extent to which it is necessary for the researcher to become part of the group that they are observing. It is reminiscent of the classic typology of participant roles described by Gold (1958), who identifies the roles as: 'complete participant; 'the observer-as-participant'; the 'participant-as-observer' and the 'complete observer'. Commenting that the distinction between researcher and participant is more evident in theory than in practice, Adler and Adler (1987) identify three different levels of membership: Peripheral member; active member and complete member. Peripheral membership is the most marginal and can vary in its extent. Although involving regular contact it is not wholly committed to the context of the groups under research. Complete membership entails full immersion on the part of the researcher in the research setting. This may involve researchers exploring settings in which they are

already a member. The active member role sits between the two, with the researcher undertaking both a functional and observational role. This role is most applicable to the research undertaken here, with the researcher adopting a position of informed distance. Issues of reflexivity are explored further in the following section and in the later comments on data collection.

For Adler and Adler, taking on a membership role is an essential part of the ethnographic process. In their keynote address to the 28th Annual Qualitative Analysis Conference in Canada in 2011, they reflected on 35 years of ethnography, citing examples of occasions when they have taken on each of the three identified roles. The writing of *Membership Roles in Field Research* (1987) arose from their misgivings about the 'fly on the wall' approach of Chicago School in 1950s/60s and the membership roles outlined by Gold (1958) and Junker (1960), where '…we were advised to tread a fine line between involvement and detachment, between subjectivity and objectivity.' (Adler & Adler, 1987 p17). Warnings against the dangers of 'going native' are countered with a desire to access the lived experience, 'We never heard anyone praise an ethnography by saying, "Wow, you really kept your distance from the participants."' (Adler & Adler, 2012 p18).

At times, Adler and Adler's proximity to their participants feels uncomfortable, particularly in their account of conducting research into the lives of their own children. However, they remain wedded to the Chicago School concept of getting dirty in real research and end their address by urging future ethnographers to embrace a classical ethnography that incorporates the best features of postmodernism, public and mainstream ethnography and to 'never wander too far from the field.' (Adler & Adler, 2012 p31).

4.2.2 Analytic perspective

Bill *The bits about us were simple enough.*

John *It's the bits in between.*

Joey *Well, I started to read it, I started at the very beginning, y'know I was gonna read as much as I could, then I just packed it in, just started readin' the parts about us and then little bits in the middle (…)*

Spansky *The parts what you wrote about us, I read those, but it was, y'know, the parts what actually were actually describing the book like I didn't…*

Paul Willis, *Learning to Labour* (1977) Appendix p195

Paul Willis's seminal ethnography of the working class 'lads' of Hammertown Boys exemplifies the relevance and appropriateness of ethnography as a means of exploring the specifics of the everyday and was a significant influence on the approach adopted in this study. Willis walks the tightrope between 'thick description' and analysis, enlightening the reader with his insights into the development of a working-class counterculture, sitting in opposition to the basic teaching paradigm in the school. His choice of method is wedded to his analytical stance,

> 'The qualitative methods, and participant observation used in the research, and the ethnographic format of the presentation were dictated by the nature of my interest in 'the cultural.' (Willis, 1977 p3)

However, as Willis acknowledges, 'The final written account can only be a product of the researcher's own sensibility…' (Willis 2000 p116). The ethnographic researcher is always part of the process and cannot be removed; qualitative research can never be 'researcher proof' (Ball 1990). An awareness of both your own presence and how you are perceived in the field is essential. This concept of reflexivity, the conscious connection of social engagement in the field and data gathering, has been well documented (see for example Hammersley & Atkinson 1983; Scott Jones & Sal Watt 2010) and pinpoints the interpretative and iterative nature of ethnography. Inextricably linked to the concept of membership roles, reflexivity demands engagement with the self in the field. The researcher is part of the construction of the ethnographic text and cannot be detached (Ball 1990). However, Ball also advocates that the potential differences between stories revealed by different researchers in the same field will be small - 'matters of emphasis' (p167) rather than essentially different stories.

The challenge for ethnographers comes in the creation of distance, particularly when researching their own cultural domains. Traditional anthropological explorations of foreign cultures provide a sense of 'otherness' that is not so prevalent in the backyards of our own cultural practices. The problem is articulated by Atkinson (2015), '…how do I make a given social world or social process sufficiently strange as to gain analytic purchase on it?' (p32). Atkinson continues to answer his own question, drawing on

the need for the researcher to engage with the complexity of the observed world and the inherent social construction of everyday life,

> 'To render a social world or a social phenomenon strange, then, is to recognise it for what it is: conventional and culturally shaped, socially shared, skilfully accomplished, and semiotically complex.' (p33).

It is in the interpretation and analysis that the social world is rendered strange. Interpretation of ethnographic data can involve the use of grounded theory, 'the discovery of theory from data systematically obtained from social research' (Glaser & Strauss, 1967 p2). Charmaz (2014) presents a more nuanced approach to grounded theory, outlining a methodology that includes the simultaneous collection and analysis of data through the creation of codes and categories developed from the data itself. Although thematic analysis may prove a useful tool for the analysis of ethnographic data, there is debate as to the limiting nature of grounded theory. Arguing that grounded theory is unrealistic, Atkinson (2015) is critical of the requirement for a lack of preconception, dismissing the methodology on the grounds that it is impossible for the researcher to enter the research field in a vacuum, 'There is a world of difference between an open mind and an empty one.' (p58). Instead, he insists that analysis must arise from a detailed knowledge of the field.

In addressing the research questions in this study, it is recognised that the absence of preconceived ideas demanded by grounded theory is impossible. The researcher is familiar with the field and the settings and has worked with trainee teachers in a professional capacity. The position adopted is, instead, synonymous with the writings of Willis (2000), who emphasises the relevance of surprise in the analysis of ethnographic data, and the linked necessity of prior knowledge,

> 'You cannot be surprised unless you thought that you knew, or assumed, something already, which is then overturned, or perhaps strengthened, or positively diverted, or fulfilled in unexpectedly elegant ways.' (p113).

Theory has a role to play but is immediate and emerging. As Willis (2000) states, theory is 'often implicit and 'on the hoof'' (p116), with constant reformulation in the field. In this study, theory is part of the process, but is placed 'beneath the surface', informing analysis but not interpreting it.

4.2.3 The role of the interview

The use of interviews within ethnographic research divides opinion. In his self-proclaimed manifesto for ethnography, Atkinson (2015) dismisses interviews as ‘essentially a lazy way of undertaking social research’ (p12), arguing that it is in intensely practical fieldwork that meaning can be found. However, interviews frequently form part of ethnographic research, with many researchers regarding interviewing as an integral part of the research process, linked directly to the gathering of data. In a more formalised context, the semi-structured interview is often deployed, allowing for a more sustained interaction with participants. Issues of reflexivity and researcher influence become prominent again here, as Kvale (1996) states, 'interviewees' statements are not simply collected by interviewers, they are, in reality, co-authored.’ (p42). Ball (1990) places the skill of the researcher to manage social relations at the heart of the ethnographic process, positioning the researcher as an ever-present element of any ethnographic text with an influence over the data being collected,

> ‘Presumably, ethnographers are not, after all, "closet positivists" and do not regard data as simply being "there", waiting to be gathered, to be observed, by any researcher who happens along. Data are a social construct of the research process itself, not just of the "natives" under study.’ (p169).

In this study, it was considered potentially enlightening to allow participants to reflect directly on the issues being researched, giving voice to their own perspectives whilst remaining mindful of the potential for distorted responses generated by such factors as emotional state and personal bias. The use of interviews is particularly pertinent to the second research question that seeks to illuminate issues of developing teacher identity. It is, however, acknowledged that the influence of the researcher cannot be ignored and the resulting narratives are a co-construction framed around the questions posed and the reaction to the responses (Brinkmann & Kvale, 2014).

4.3 Research approach and questions

This research does not claim to offer a single anthropological ethnography. Rather than charting the world of a specific group in one location, it addresses three different teacher training settings, albeit linked by common goals of teacher preparation. Instead, in addressing the research questions, ‘How do trainee secondary teachers learn to teach in different postgraduate teacher training settings?’ and ‘How do the

teacher identities of trainee secondary teachers develop over the course of their training year?', the research draws on ethnographic methods to capture the lived experience of the participants, from within their social world. As Adler and Adler (2012) suggest,

> 'Let us continue to place ourselves where we belong, with our participants, with the people in their naturalistic settings, treading that thin line between the everyday life member and the analytical observer.' (p31).

This intensive study has observation at its heart, with attendance at taught sessions being supplemented by the observation of the participants in the classroom. Semi-structured interviews conducted at fixed points across the year-long programme help to illuminate both the learning of the participants and their interaction with the institutional discourse of their chosen centre. Analysis of course materials serve to highlight the philosophies and working practice that inform the training in each institution.

4.4 Research sites

Research was undertaken in three teacher training sites in the South of England offering full time postgraduate programmes. For the purpose of this study, the sites are identified as follows:

- Oakland ITT: A school-centred initial teacher training (SCITT) programme situated in an 11-19 mixed comprehensive Academy[3]
- Central University: A university-led teacher training programme situated in a high-ranking research-led university
- Maple Alliance: A School Direct school-led teacher training programme run by a Teaching School Alliance of 3 schools in association with an online provider. Based in an 11-18 mixed comprehensive Academy

The selection of research sites was designed to offer a contrast between the school-led and university-led settings. However, there was also an element of pragmatism as access to training sites is not easy to secure, particularly when the gatekeepers are unknown to the researcher. Initially, research plans included just two sites: Central University and Oakland ITT. Central University was known to the researcher as the

[3] A school which is funded by the government and sometimes also by a private individual or organization but is not controlled by the local authority

site of her Master's study. Oakland ITT is located at the school where the researcher was previously employed as an Assistant Headteacher. This personal contact made navigating site access more straightforward. The course leaders in each of the sites were approached in person and then by letter (Appendix Bi) and agreement was secured by December 2017. On reflection, it was felt by the researcher that this dualism in site selection would put too great an emphasis on a dichotomy between school and university-led ITT rather than the nature of the lived experience of the participants. As such, a third site was selected that offered an alternative approach, combining school-led training with the provision of online materials in what is termed a 'blended programme.' Initial approaches were made via email to the Headteacher in the lead school of the Teaching Alliance. The Headteacher is known to the researcher, although she has never taught at her school. This initial contact was favourably received and a meeting was arranged with the ITT lead in the host school at which the parameters for research were agreed. The online elements of the course are delivered via an external provider, with a global portfolio. Approach was made via email and telephone to the School Direct Director at the external provider but gaining permission took some months and was finally secured following the intervention of the Teaching Alliance's ITT lead in July 2017. This delay was explained by the Director as being related to difficulties in lines of communication with a global company rather than any issue with the research itself.

4.4.1 Oakland ITT

Oakland ITT is a school-led programme offering teaching at secondary level, situated in an 11-19 mixed comprehensive Academy in the South of England and run in conjunction with 19 local partnership secondary schools (14 'Consortium' schools; 5 'Associated' schools). Training is offered via school-centred initial teacher training (SCITT); School Direct, fee-paying and School Direct, salaried. Trainees spend 4 days a week in schools and have a weekly training day, with a General Professional Studies session in the host school during the morning and Subject Specific Sessions housed in the partnership schools during the afternoon. The scheme was rated as Outstanding by Ofsted in October 2017 and is well established, citing over 20 years of experience on the course website. Oakland ITT prides itself on the relevant experience of the course tutors, '*We are unique in that all our training is run by experienced, practising teachers.'*

There are up to 60 places available. Successful completion of the course leads to the award of QTS and trainees also have the option of working for the award of Professional Graduate Certificate in Education (ProfGCE) accredited by a local university. This is a level 6 award, although there are plans to offer the level 7 certificate (PGCE) in the future. Minimum entry requirements are listed as:

- A degree at classification 2:2 or above
- Grade C/4 or above in GCSE Maths
- Grade C/4 or above in GCSE English

Assessment is via a combination of portfolio evidence and assignments:

- Professional Portfolio of evidence against the 8 Teachers Standards. QTS
- First Philosophical Statement (1000 words) QTS
- Action Research Assignment 1 (3000 words) ProfGCE
- Action Research Assignment 2 (3000 words) ProfGCE
- Final Philosophical Statement (1000 words) QTS

School experience is broken down into three placements:

- September - February: 'A' placement
- February - April: 'B' placement
- April - June: Return to 'A' placement

Throughout both 'A' placements, trainees return to Oakland ITT one day a week for General Professional Studies and Subject Specific Sessions. This does not take place during the shorter 'B' placement, with trainees remaining in school for the full 5 days.

4.4.2 Central University

Central University is a well-established university-led teacher training programme for teaching in secondary schools (ages 11-18), offering up to 189 places. The programme was rated as Outstanding by Ofsted in 2010. The longevity of the programme is highlighted on the course website, with reference to the 120 year history of training teachers. The course online publicity includes reference to philosophy, '*Our course combines the theory and practice of education'* and the make-up of the teaching staff, *'Our academics are qualified teachers themselves and are highly experienced in teacher training.'*

Successful completion leads to the award of Qualified Teacher Status (QTS) and the Post Graduate Certificate of Education (PGCE). The course is 37 weeks, with 24

weeks in schools with occasional days back in the university. Minimum entry requirements are listed as:

- Bachelor's degree with at least 2:1 honours (or overseas equivalent) usually in the subject you wish to teach
- Knowledge and understanding of the subject you intend to teach
- GCSE grade C or above (or an equivalent qualification) in English language and Mathematics

Assessment is via four modules, two completed at Master's Level:

- Studying Policy and Professional Practice (30 credits) – Master's level
- Focused Pedagogical Studies (30 credits) – Master's level
- Professional Practice in Education (45 credits) – Honours level
- School Data (15 credits) – Honours level

The course comprises two school placements of similar length. Following a 4-day Primary placement, trainees spend the first 2.5 weeks in the university prior to the commencement of the first placement. The placement runs from early October until the end of January, with trainees returning to the university for two days a week initially, dropping to one day after the first month.

The second placement commences in February, following a 2 week period back in the university. This placement runs until the end of the teaching period in June and is designed to offer a contrast to the first placement. Trainees return to the university for the final week of the summer term for consolidation and enrichment activities.

4.4.3 Maple Alliance

Maple Alliance is a school-led teacher training programme run by a Teaching School Alliance of three schools in association with an online provider. The Teaching School Alliance is formed from three Outstanding schools (two secondary and one primary) and was granted teaching school status by the National College for Teaching and Leadership in 2014. The programme is based in an 11-18 mixed comprehensive Academy in the south of England and run in conjunction with 26 partnership schools (10 secondary; 15 infant/primary; 1 community special) and advertises having 'around' 70 places. The publicity for the programme emphasises the partnership of schools and the relevance of locality.

Training is offered via the School Direct route (both salaried and non-salaried) in conjunction with an online provider. In addition to the provision of online materials, this blended programme also provides trainees with an external mentor (termed a Pathway tutor) who completes six on site visits and carries out a weekly online check of the progress made. Trainees spend 4 days a week in schools and the remaining day is allocated to the professional studies programme, including 'Learning Circles' offering collaborative general and subject based training. Successful completion of the course results in the award of QTS and optional PGCE at Level 7 in the infant, primary and secondary sector accredited by a local university. Minimum entry requirements are listed as:

- GCSE grade C in Maths, English (primary trainees also require Science)
- NCTL professional skills tests in Numeracy and Literacy
- A degree at classification 2:2 or above. If you wish to teach in the secondary sector a large proportion of your degree should be in the subject you wish to teach, usually a minimum of 50 %
- At least two weeks experience in a school before starting the programme (desirable)

Assessment is via a combination of observation, portfolio evidence and assignments:

- Observations by mentor, external tutor and the senior managers of school
- Three written assignments:
    - Raising Achievement: The Active Inquiry (3000 words, Level 6)
      A piece of action research designed to raise achievement for pupils within placement school
    - Learning Technologies in Education (4500 words or equivalent research, analysis and presentation to the senior team in school, Level 7)
      A critical evaluation of the use of learning technology to enhance learning in the classroom
    - Developing Expertise in Subject Knowledge for Teaching (4500 words or equivalent research, analysis and presentation to the senior team in school, Level 7)
      Evaluation of how students develop as learners, drawing on current subject research on how students learn and make progress in the subject
- A portfolio of evidence relating to the teaching standards

School experience is broken down into three placements, with the majority of time spent in the first-choice school:

- September - February: 'A' placement
- February - April: Contrasting 'B' placement
- April - June: Return to 'A' placement

Trainees have one study day a week, with 'Learning Circle' group sessions scheduled during the afternoon. Where there is not a group scheduled, trainees are expected to use the time to keep on track with their reflections, assignments and the online learning. The frequency of Learning Circles sessions diminishes as the year progresses.

4.5 Data collection

Data was collected throughout the training year using ethnographic methods. Arguably, 'Ethnography is the only method that allows us unfettered access to the lives of others' (Adler & Adler, 2012 p30) and the intention in this research was to gain full access to the training life of the participants. Research took place for the duration of the teacher training year, from September 2017 to July 2018. Management of the process was complex and a research plan (Appendix C) was drawn up in advance to begin to plan the allocation of the limited resources of a lone researcher. This became an invaluable working document that was revised as the research progressed.

Observations of taught sessions took place in Central University and in the host and partnership schools for Oakland ITT and Maple Alliance. Semi-structured interviews were conducted with identified participants on each programme at three points during the year and lesson observations were conducted in their placement schools. Course documentation was collected prior to the start of the courses and throughout the research period. In addition, some participants were happy to share their academic assignments. The details of data collected in each site is outlined below:

Oakland ITT

- Approximately 34 hours of Subject Professional Studies (SPS), delivered by subject mentors (9 sessions with lead subject mentor; 8 sessions with temporary subject mentor following maternity leave of subject mentor)
- Approximately 50 hours of General Professional Studies (GPS) sessions (14 GPS sessions led by course tutors or guest speakers; 3 Academic Days dedicated to preparing for ProfGCE assignments)
- First interview with 3 participants from the secondary English course

- 2 further interviews with 2 participants (due to referral of one candidate)
- 2 lesson observations in placement schools with 2 participants

Central University

- Approximately 50 hours of observed English subject sessions (17 in-house English subject sessions delivered by course tutors; 2 off-site English subject sessions delivered by external providers)
- Approximately 10 hours of observed Studying Policy and Professional Practice (S3P) sessions (5 lectures; 3 cross-subject seminars)
- 3 interviews with 3 participants from the secondary English course, with the first interview conducted in the university prior to the commencement of teaching practice
- 2 lesson observations in placement schools with each of the 3 participants

Maple Alliance

- Approximately 6 hours of subject specific input (2 subject sessions run by a pathway tutor at the Teaching Alliance host school)
- Approximately 6 hours of 'Learning Circles', addressing general practice (2 sessions led by staff from the Teaching School Alliance;1 session led by a representative from the online provider)
- First interview with 4 secondary participants (English; Geography; Science; MFL)
- 2 further interviews with 3 of the participants (English; Geography; Science)
- Exploration of online portal with secondary English participant
- 1-2 lesson observations with English, Geography and Science participants in their host school

4.5.1 Research ethics

Ethical approval for the study was sought and obtained from the Research Ethics Committee at King's College London (see Appendix Bv).

4.5.2 Participant selection

In each of the settings, the whole ITT cohort was observed during some of the taught sessions. In keeping with the researcher's own subject specialism, specific focus was given to taught English sessions and to selected participants following the secondary English course. To mitigate against bias on the part of the researcher, course leaders in each setting were asked to select the participants prior to the commencement of the research. In Maple Alliance, there was only one English trainee, so further participants were selected by the course leader from other subjects (Geography; Science and MFL). All selected participants were following non-salaried programmes to allow for some commonality in their expectations and commitments during the training year. The selection of an ethnographic approach had been partially informed by the writing of Deborah Britzman, whose book *Practice Makes Practice* focuses on the experiences of just two trainee teachers (Britzman, 2003). This focus on a small group allows the time and space for detail, although it should be noted that observation of taught sessions also involved much larger groups. The approach to sampling is, therefore, both relevant to the research questions and feasible given that the researcher was working alone (Miles, Huberman, & Saldana, 2013).

4.5.3 Participant summary

A summary of the participants, including a brief biographical sketch is provided in the table below:

Table 2: Participant summary

Unique ID	Research site	Short Biography
Amanda	Oakland ITT	Amanda identifies as female and is British European. She has had a career in the educational field for over 20 years. She has experience of working as a Learning Support Assistant and as a training manager. Comments in her interviews revealed her to be in the 41-45 age group at the time of the research.
Helen	Oakland ITT	Helen identifies as female and is British European. She worked in retail for 5 years following completion of her undergraduate degree. Comments in her interviews revealed her to be in the 25-30 age group at the time of the research.
Jane	Oakland ITT	Jane identifies as female and is British European. Jane had a variety of jobs prior to commencement of the ITT course including work in music and art education. Comments in her interviews revealed her to be in the 45-49 age group at the time of the research.

Rachel	Central University	Rachel began the ITT course following 3 years working as a teaching assistant. She identifies as female and is British European, with strong Cypriot familial ties. Comments in her interviews revealed her to be in the 21-25 age group at the time of the research.
Zahra	Central University	Zahra began the ITT course straight after her completion of her undergraduate degree, also at Central University. She identifies as female and is British Asian. Comments in her interviews revealed her to be in the 21-25 age group at the time of the research.
Peter	Central University	Peter began the ITT course straight after completion of his undergraduate degree. He identifies as male and is British European. Comments in his interviews revealed him to be in the 21-25 age group at the time of the research.
Emily	Maple Alliance	Emily identifies as female and is British European. She worked briefly in retail following rejection from another ITT route after the completion of her undergraduate degree. Comments in her interviews revealed her to be in the 25-30 age group at the time of the research.
Laura	Maple Alliance	Laura identifies as female and is British European. She took time out after the completion of her undergraduate degree to work as a ski instructor. Comments in her interviews revealed her to be in the 25-30 age group at the time of the research.
Tina	Maple Alliance	Tina identifies as female and is British European. She began the ITT course straight after her completion of her undergraduate degree. Comments in her interviews revealed her to be in the 21-25 age group at the time of the research.
Lisa	Maple Alliance	Lisa identifies as female and is British European. She began the ITT course straight after her completion of her undergraduate degree. Comments in her interviews revealed her to be in the 21-25 age group at the time of the research.

4.5.4 Informed consent

Once identified, each participant was given an information sheet (Appendix Bii) to take away to read. Drawing on the advice of Miles et al. (2013) to be an 'open book' to your participants (p61), the opportunity to ask questions was also provided, although none were forthcoming. A consent form was completed and signed by all participants prior to the first interview (Appendix Biii).

Prior to lesson observations in placement schools, a letter requesting permission was distributed to the relevant Headteachers (Appendix Biv). This gave information about the research and an assurance of anonymity for both the participants and their schools. The letter also highlighted the fact that the researcher holds a valid enhanced DBS certificate. All approached schools agreed to observations taking place.

4.5.5 Right to withdraw

Both the information sheet and the consent form outlined to the participants that they had the right to withdraw at any time, without reason. This was reiterated verbally on several occasions. All the approached trainees agreed to taking part in the research and no one chose to withdraw, but not all remained part of the research process. In Oakland ITT, one trainee left the course after the first two months and in Maple Alliance, one trainee suffered health issues and dropped to a part time timetable. Although she was happy to be still involved, the course leader thought it best for her to pull back from the research process.

4.5.6 Privacy

Anonymity of participants and their training providers was assured before data collection began. Participants were allocated pseudonyms using an online random name generator to ensure anonymity. The chosen names allude only to the gender of the original participant and hold no further meaning. Recorded interviews were labelled with participants' pseudonyms and documentation linking their names and pseudonyms was stored separately to the data.

4.5.7 Reflexivity

In the ethnographic tradition, observational methods are 'associated with the researcher putting themselves physically and synchronously into a setting or site and being involved in or observing its dynamics' (Mason, 2018 p139). Once access had been agreed, this was possible and much of the research time was spent in the field of the three courses. This immediately presented the challenge of identity in the settings and the relationship between the researcher and the researched. The role adopted in the field was closely aligned to that of 'active member' (Adler & Adler, 1987), more central than a peripheral stance but not equating to total immersion in the setting. However, the role also had a necessary fluidity, dependent particularly on the setting and session leader. As Maier and Monahan (2009) observe, 'Researchers must find a balance between closeness and detachment that is right for them' (p23). Navigation of the appropriate 'closeness' was a constant challenge and a reminder of the relevance of the self in ethnographic work. As with the participants, the researcher's autobiography became part of the research process and to deny the impact of the process on the construction of the self would rather 'miss the point' of the

ethnographic experience (Coffey, 1996). It was agreed with course tutors in all settings that the research role would be observational and that the researcher would not be actively engaged in the taught sessions. However, it was apparent in each location that this was not sustainable, as discussed below.

4.5.7a Oakland ITT

Oakland ITT presented particular navigational challenges as the researcher had previously held a senior position in the school. To further complicate the issue, sessions were delivered in the theatre housed in the sixth form building, where she had been based as Director of Sixth Form. A range of identities had to be managed, including researcher, previous colleague, previous manager and friend. Here, it was to be the interactions with staff members that proved most challenging, particularly when they were previously under the researcher's line management. In the following extract, the session lead is clearly influenced by her presence,

> 'Naomi is openly terrified at the prospect of my observing the session, forcing me again to reflect on my identity in this space. I try to reassure her but am not convinced that it is wholly successful.' (Fieldnote 12.10.17).

Over time, the presence of the researcher become less of a distraction but this arena always foregrounded the challenge of making such a familiar social space sufficiently strange to gain analytic purchase (Atkinson, 2015).

4.5.7b Central University

Observations in Central University commenced on 18 September 2017 with an English subject session. The PGCE English course director and session leader was already known to the researcher and she was introduced to the group by her. From the outset, many of the trainees seemed to view the researcher as part of the teaching team and in the first few sessions would interact accordingly,

> 'Cathryn wanders up to me and asks if they have to stick them on and asks if I have glue – I indicate the Pritt sticks at the front, noting privately issues of my identity in the room.' (Fieldnote 19.9.17).

Although this type of interaction lessened over time, trainees would still seek advice on matters pertaining to English teaching, knowing the researcher to be an experienced teacher. This was particularly apparent when outside of the training room and breaks proved to be a time when trainees would approach, although this did not happen if one of the course tutors was present. The extract below is typical of the type of exchange,

> ‘I meet Edward at the coffee cart during break. He is feeling the strain of having two deadlines for written assignments today. He is worried that he hasn’t started looking for jobs yet, *‘I just don’t have any time.’* He asks for advice and I suggest setting up some alerts from the TES site, which seems to come as a revelation to him and he is overly grateful.’ (Fieldnote 20.11.17).

4.5.7c Maple Alliance

Maple Alliance was less complex a setting to navigate in terms of identity as, with the exception of the course leader, the researcher was not known to the staff or the trainees. Here the issues were more around maintaining detachment, as revealed in the following note made during one of the Learning Circle sessions,

> ‘Gillian rather unhelpfully references my presence as an example of life-long learning – I think most had forgotten that I was there and now turn to look.’ (Fieldnote 2.2.18).

The small numbers in the English sessions also led to a blurring of the role of observer and participant. As Emily was the only English trainee, others were invited to join the session, including two following the Assessment Only route to QTS at the host school. The numbers remained low and it was often expedient for the researcher to be actively involved in order to allow activities to function effectively,

> ‘The activity is for pairs, so I find myself joining the session as Emily’s partner and continue to be an active member of the group for the duration.’ (Fieldnote 10.11.17).

The course tutor in these sessions also frequently sought reassurance and affirmation, speaking as a fellow English teacher and thus creating a distance between the researcher and the gathered attendees.

4.6 Research methods

As is highlighted by Miles et al. (2015), ethnographic methods ‘tend towards the descriptive’ (p8). In capturing the lived experience of learning to teach, it was necessary to ensure that sufficient descriptive data was collected to illuminate the process and inform subsequent analysis. Three different data collection methods were adopted, namely:

- Observation;
    - Participant observation of taught sessions

    - Observations of lessons in placement schools
- Interview;
    - Semi-structured interviews with participants at three different points in the course
- Document analysis;
    - Consideration of course materials, including publicity materials, course handbooks and materials used in taught sessions
    - Consideration of academic assignments produced by participants.

The self-conscious checking of data from different sources, settings and participants became an integral part of the study, a 'way of life' (Miles et al., 2013 p300) with verification worked into the process of data collection as multiple instances of the same issues and themes were encountered.

4.6.1 Observation

There is value in direct observation. As Hammersley and Atkinson (2003) note, 'The ethnographic imagination is always grounded in the local practicalities of everyday life in particular social settings' (p189) and participation in that everyday life is central to the research process. In order to gain insight into the nature of learning in the different training settings, it was necessary to experience the nature of the instruction and the culture in which learning takes place. Extensive time was therefore spent observing sessions and lectures (both general and subject specific) in all three research sites, talking with trainees during break times and during discussion tasks. There were occasions when the researcher was actively involved in the sessions, particularly in the school-led settings, highlighting the oxymoronic nature (O'Reilly, 2004) of the participant observer stance and one of the potential limitations of observation as a method. It is possible that the behaviour of the participants was affected by the researcher presence. As Ball (1990) comments, 'The researcher never can be the invisible fly on the wall, as sometimes is claimed, but is always and inevitably a part of the scene' (p159). To some extent, impact was negated by the fact that research was conducted over a prolonged length of time, during which the researcher's presence became accepted and expected. Obviously, observations are limited to what can be seen externally. It is not always possible to observe thoughts and feelings and there are limits on what can physically be recorded in the time available.

4.6.2 Lesson observations

Observations of lessons allowed for a view of the trainees away from the course settings and enacting a different identity, that of teacher rather than student (Ó Gallchóir et al., 2018). Lesson observations were carried out with trainees in their placement schools. Again, the presence of the researcher could have impacted on the lesson outcomes, particularly as there was usually already a school mentor in the room as well. On one occasion, observation of a lesson took place with the university tutor, bringing the total number of adults in the room to four. People, especially children, may act in an atypical way when being observed so where possible two lessons were observed at different times in the course to alleviate the impact of this limitation on the data. Unlike the other methods, lesson observations inevitably involved pupils, none of whom previously knew the observer. Interactions with pupils in the classroom were kept to a minimum to lessen the impact on the observation. Physical strategies helped alleviate this, as found by McKechnie (2000) in her research with young children,

> 'Staying out of direct sight lines, observing from behind obstacles, avoiding direct eye contact and appearing to be very busy with another task like notetaking or looking through a book.' (p70).

In the classroom, observation usually took place from the back of the room, which provided a good vantage point and had the benefit of enabling the taking of non-identifying photographs, for which permission had already been given by the school. Notetaking was discreet, with jottings recorded in a notebook and transformed into an electronic document as soon after the lesson as possible. Although it is impossible to mitigate entirely against the impact of an observer on a class, it is a feature of most English secondary schools that lessons are observed on a frequent basis and pupils seemed undeterred by the presence of another adult in the room.

4.6.3 Interviews

In this research, interviews were utilised both as a planned research method and as an integral part of observations. Informal interviews were conducted throughout the observation period, with questions and conversations taking place with the trainees particularly during the spaces between the taught sessions. In addition, interviews with the identified participants were scheduled at staggered points during the course. These interviews were semi-structured in nature, designed to support the direct

observations in the field. Interviews with the participants took place in September-November 2017; December 2017-March 2018 and May-June 2018. Areas for discussion were planned in advance of each interview cycle and revised following initial analysis of preceding fieldnotes.

Although informing the first research question, 'How do trainee secondary teachers learn to teach in different postgraduate teacher training settings?', the use of interviews was directly related to the secondary question, 'How do the teacher identities of trainee secondary teachers develop over the course of their training year?' Conversations with participants allowed for exploration of their preconceptions and past experiences and the staggered nature of the interviews served to highlight changes that took place during the year. The same format of questions was loosely adopted across all sites (Appendix Ei), but allowance was made for digression and natural deviation that took place during the conversations.

4.6.4 Stimulated recall

In some of the lesson observations, it had been possible to capture some photographs of the classroom. In such instances, these were used with the participant in the next interview. This method proved particularly successful when there was a gap in time between the lesson and the interview, in some cases up to three weeks. The use of the visual stimulus can result in a reliving of the episode 'to the extent of being able to provide, in retrospect, an accurate verbalised account of his original thought processes…' (Calderhead, 1981 p212). In this case, it enabled the participants to go back to the classroom and reflect on issues that might not have been foregrounded at the time. For example, the sharing of a photograph taken from the back of the room prompted Amanda to reflect on the size of the class that she was trying to manage,

> *'there seems like there's hundreds of them, it seems like there's hundreds of people in the room even though they're the same size as my Year 9 class'* (interview transcript 11.1.18).

The use of stimulated recall interviews more often involves the use of audio or video material, as explored by Dempsey (2010) in his research into social interactions during musical jamming sessions where the sharing of videoed material of sessions with participants resulted in more accurate reflections. There are ethical considerations with the use of videoed material in classrooms and in the case of this research, the use of still images seemed effective in accessing the thoughts and motivations of the

participants whilst maintaining the anonymity of the children. The validity of the method was further enhanced by its use in conjunction with the contemporaneous lesson observation notes and copies of lesson plans provided by the participants. As Dempsey (2010) comments,

> 'these interviews should in general be used to augment an ongoing ethnography rather than to substitute for the insights gained by careful observation and participation in a particular social milieu.' (p358).

4.6.5 Document analysis

The publicity material and handbooks for all three programmes were considered prior to the commencement of research. This enabled an insight into the field through the same lens as that experienced by the trainees and helped with the formulation of initial ideas around research questions. Availability of handbooks prior to the start of the courses was variable. Documentation from Central University was finalised by the end of May 2017 whereas the school-led settings were still making changes and additions to their handbooks up until the start of the course in September 2017.

Once in the field, documentation pertaining to the courses was gathered wherever and whenever possible. In the case of the online provider, a session was spent looking at the material with the English trainee as it proved difficult to secure an independent log-in, despite permission being granted. In addition to course materials, some of the selected participants were also willing to share their academic assignments which contribute to their PGCE/ProfGCE. The analysis of documentation has limitations as the quality and availability of materials differed between and within sites. Equally, it was not possible to secure access to the academic assignments of all the participants, which impacted on any comparative analysis of outcomes. However, the materials that were available provide a 'behind the scenes' look at areas of the programmes that might not otherwise be observable and helped add texture to the richness of the ethnographic description and analysis.

4.7 The act of writing

The act of writing permeates all levels of this study, as is common with qualitative research (Gibbs, 2007).

4.7.1 Fieldnotes

Whilst in the field, contemporaneous notes were taken by hand in a notebook, with a different coloured book chosen for each research site. A summary of the events in the room was recorded by hand, with verbatim utterances noted where possible. These notes were then written up electronically as soon after the event as possible (and never any later than the following day). The example below from a fieldnote at Oakland ITT demonstrates the transformation of the initial jottings into an ethnographic sketch (an example of transcribed fieldnotes from each site is included in Appendix E),

> '8.30am. Flooding. Unhappy about end of holiday. SPS cancelled. Awaiting B placements. Amanda worried about attendance ('*I am honestly concerned that some people might think that it is not on*.') Missed job at X. 9.05am more arrive. Helen with History/Geog boys, eating biscuits. More confident since appointment. 9.17am theatre ready. Overall numbers down.' (Fieldnote 4.1.18).

> 'It is a miserable morning with flooding causing issues on local roads. When I arrive, a small group of trainees are already gathered in the Café, bemoaning the end of the Christmas break. Many are at schools that have not yet started back and begrudge being in today. A rumour circulates that the afternoon SPS may be cancelled and minutes later course tutor Cindy enters and confirms this, news that is met with whoops of delight. There is a sense of anticipation as they are still to find out their B placements and suspect that they may be told today. By 8.45am, it is still quiet. Amanda is worried, *'I am honestly concerned that some people might think that it is not on.'* She has been looking at an English post advertised at a local school and quizzes me on its suitability. It would be a good appointment for her but looking at the website it appears that she may have missed the deadline. Not for the first time, I am surprised by her disorganisation which seems contrary to her manner and teaching style. By 9.05am, more have gathered but there is no sign of the theatre being ready. Helen is surrounded by the male History and Geography trainees and is working her way through a box of mini shortbread biscuits. She has grown in confidence since her appointment and even exudes an air of authority. At 9.17am, the theatre is clear, and they make their way in. Numbers are a little depleted but there are enough in attendance to fill the usual round tables.' (Transcribed fieldnote 4.1.18).

On the facing page of the notebook, notes were taken that would inform later analysis. These drew on a model of organisation identified by Schatzman and Strauss (1975) whereby material is classified as 'Observational Notes' (ON); Theoretical Notes (TN) or Methodological Notes (MN). This method has been explored elsewhere (see Richardson, 2004; Palmer, 2010) and is further explained and explored by Gibbs (2007), including the addition of Personal Notes (PN), as quoted below:

- *'Observation Notes (ON).* As concrete and detailed as possible about what you saw, heard, felt, tasted etc.
- *Methodological Notes (MN).* Notes to yourself about how to collect 'data' – who to talk to, what to wear, when to phone, and so on.
- *Theoretical Notes (TN).* Hunches, hypotheses, connections, alternative interpretations, critiques of what you are doing/thinking/seeing.
- *Personal Notes (PN).* These are your feelings about the research, who you are talking to, your doubts, anxieties and pleasures. (adapted from Richardson, 2004, p498)' (Gibbs, 2007 p31).

In the fieldnotes, observational notes were the initial jottings as demonstrated above. Theoretical and methodological notes were made on the facing page. Some of these points would later become part of the transcribed ethnographic sketch whilst others formed the basis for longer analytical memos. A separate journal was kept containing personal notes (PN) as these comments and feelings transcended individual research sites. Movement between all of these notes was continuous, reflecting the interactive and iterative nature of the fieldnote process.

4.7.2 Vignettes

This study focuses on the experience of those learning to teach and, as such, it was important to capture a sense of their reality. To assist with this, the transformation of fieldnotes included the capture of narrative sketches or vignettes, as defined by Erickson (1986),

> 'The narrative vignette is a vivid portrayal of the conduct of an event of everyday life, in which the sights and sounds of what was being said and done are described in the natural sequence of their occurrence in real time' (p149-50).

This technique helps to document the lived experience of the participants and serves to locate the researcher in the scene. This method proved particularly effective for the few occasions when the trainees had taught sessions outside of their institutions. The change in location often prompted a change in behaviour and it was helpful to record the detail of these encounters. The extract below is taken from a longer vignette written following a session at a Film Institute for the Central University trainees. None of their course leaders were present and the confidence of key members of the cohort observed in previous sessions was noticeably absent,

> 'At 11.48am, he [John – session lead] plays the film to the end, revealing that the focus for the film is actually the dog rather than the boy. Much of the initial feedback is dominated by the Iranian student who seems to think that his

> experience of the film was more profound than anyone else's, '*Yours is a very particular experience'* counters John. *'But everyone had accessed the film at a different point and in a different way.'* The student offers no more response during the remainder of the session. Afterwards, John directs them to write a sentence beginning *'This film is about…'* and then adding *'and how…'* As they work, there is a silence in the room. *'And that is the sound of people thinking – and it is a lovely sound'* comments John. He takes some examples from the floor, emphasising their differences. None are from the Central group. Rachel is texting – she didn't complete the sentence exercise. John points out how the addition of the 'and how' clauses adds a level of thematic analysis, but none of the Central students are taking notes. He finishes by asking them to identify three things that they have learnt during the session, '*Let's have a lesson outcome moment.*' Rachel, Zahra and Peter are looking at pictures of dogs on Rachel's phone. All the feedback comes from the other university group - the same few voices again – and I find myself thinking back to the usual confidence displayed by Rachel in subject sessions. Here she appears younger and a little lost; a student devoid of her teacher seeking solace in the trivial pursuits with her friends. The session ends at 12.10pm and the auditorium empties quickly, the Central group making hurried lunch arrangements as they head out into the sunshine.' (5.2.18).

The creation of vignettes sits comfortably with the ethnographic gaze and helped with the formulation of key ideas and theoretical insights. The vignette serves the dual purpose of being didactic and rhetorical (Erickson, 1986), grounding the study in the concrete experience whilst giving validity to the researcher's findings by cementing their presence in the scene. Other vignettes in the data collection were written to provide evidence of typicality, demonstrating how certain encounters were representative of practice in a given site (Miles et al., 2013 p182).

In the analysis of the data, the vignettes were frequently returned to as a source of contextually rich renderings of the training experience. Reading through them after a passage of time helped to relocate the researcher in the scene and informed the later identification of codes and subsequent concepts. As Miles et al. (2013) note, 'the vignette offers the researcher an opportunity to venture away from traditional scholarly discourse and into evocative prose that remains firmly rooted in the data but is not a slave to it.' (p183). The vignettes were important in the production of the chapters detailing the findings for each route. The final accounts (in Chapters 5-7) include verbatim extracts from both the vignettes and fieldnotes that help to provide an evocative narrative description of the scenes.

4.8 Data management and preparation

Research conducted over an extended period generates a significant amount of data and it was essential to adopt a systematic approach to its management. A data accounting log was produced that gives a simple overview of all the data from specified participants and sites (Appendix D). As outlined, fieldnotes were transformed into electronic documents which were then stored in named folders on a computer. Initially, these were organised by type (observation, interview etc.) but were later organised into folders for each of the participants, collating all their corresponding data in a central place. Interviews were recorded on audio and then transcribed and stored alongside notes on the location and general feeling of each one. Transcribed fieldnotes were stored electronically in folders identified with the pseudonym of each site. In addition, a table was constructed cataloguing the selected participants' contributions and demeanour in taught sessions.

4.9 Methods of analysis

Fundamental to this research is an approach grounded in the lived experience of the participants. As such, the approach to theory was simultaneously emergent and distanced. As Atkinson (2015) argues, an ethnographic researcher should be both in the field and able to be detached from it, looking both down on and up from the data in an exploratory and creative way. In this case, the researcher did not enter the field devoid of prior knowledge and the analysis of the data was informed by a professional familiarity with the field and an awareness of the existing literature, allowing for a sense of overview, a 'bird's eye view, rather than a worm's-eye view' (Atkinson, 2015 p67).

At the centre of the data analysis was a desire to facilitate 'good thinking' (Stake, 1995) in the pursuit of patterns and contradictions within the data. The approach is heuristic, with the data as the starting point. The selection of research methods arose from an ontological position that emphasises the value of people's views and experiences in illuminating the social reality of the process of learning to teach. It was essential that the methods adopted proved illuminating for the research questions and planning began with a mapping of methods against each of the questions, as detailed in the table below:

Table 3: Mapping of Research Methods

Focus	*Evidence/data*	*Method*	*Analysis*
How do trainee secondary teachers learn to teach in different postgraduate teacher training settings?			
Course requirements	Programme handbooks/guidelines	Analysis of handbooks	Comparison of requirements Comparative analysis of language and positioning: look at rhetoric, theoretical underpinning, expectations etc.
Development and understanding of subject and pedagogical knowledge	Views of participants Subject sessions (taught)	Semi-structured interviews Observation of taught subject sessions Creation of vignettes	Coding of interview transcripts and transcribed fieldnotes Nature of curriculum Trainee engagement
Development and understanding of classroom practice	Classroom practice in placement schools	Classroom observation Observation of mentor feedback sessions Post-observation interviews	Analysis of observation notes Use of photographs (stimulated recall) of classroom environment to stimulate discussion
The academic work: Course requirements - what assignments have to be produced and when?	Identification of assignments and nature of preparation/teaching to assist trainees	Observation of taught session(s) linked to assignments Assignments themselves	Analysis of written work – is it reflective? How does it link to the subject sessions? How do trainees cope with the academic requirements? What importance do they place on the academic assignments?
How do the teacher identities of trainee secondary teachers develop over the course of their training year?			
Defining the role – definition of teacher and views on the profession; definition of practice	Philosophical Statement on Entry and completion of the course (Oakland ITT); Assessment portfolio (Central and Maple Alliance)	Reading of statements and assessment portfolios – look at definition of practice. How do they see the role of teaching /teachers?	Relevance of social/cultural background? Analysis of viewpoints – do these change?

Development of teacher identity as year progresses	Views of participants	Semi structured interviews – focus on prior experience and reasons applying at the start of the course in initial interview Observations of taught sessions/lessons	Coding of interview transcripts and transcribed fieldnotes Analysis of observation notes

The 'focus' column was completed first, identifying the elements of the programmes and the trainees' development that seemed most pertinent to the research questions. There is no hierarchy to the order and the content evolved as the planning progressed. The centrality of self-correction and open-mindedness (Hymes, 1996) was key to the ethnographic approach of the research. Each point in the 'focus' column was then mapped against the required evidence, methods and subsequent analysis, providing a route map for the management of the research process.

Analysis of the data was conducted for each research site in turn, beginning with Oakland ITT, then Central University and finally Maple Alliance. The deliberate separation of the two school-led sites with the analysis of the university site was designed to resist simultaneous comparison across the school-led sites. Although the analysis would culminate in consideration of similarities across the sites, it was important to maintain the integrity of each one in order to fully address the research question of how trainee secondary teachers learn to teach in different postgraduate teacher training settings.

4.9.1 Coding of data

Following Miles et al. (2013) and Saldana (2016), initial coding was adopted as a first step. Starting with the first interviews with each participant, the transcripts were read and coded using descriptive codes in an attempt to address the reflective questions inherent in the research questions: 'How do trainee secondary teachers learn to teach?' and 'How do the teacher identities of trainee secondary teachers develop?' It was soon apparent that this method was generating noun-based codes that were predominantly descriptive and revealed very little about the participants' thinking (Saldana, 2016). It was decided to broaden the coding to include in vivo and process codes alongside

descriptive codes. The use of codes in the participants' own language seemed to 'prioritize and honor the participants' voice' (Miles et al., 2013 p74) in a way appropriate to the research questions. Process codes, utilising gerunds, allowed for the recording of observable actions and concepts. Transcripts of the interviews were coded line-by-line (Charmaz, 2014) by hand and the results compiled in a table, as demonstrated in the extract from the analysis of Jane's first interview below:

Table 4: Codes table

In vivo codes	Process codes	Descriptive codes
My father was a PT instructor Thought I would become a teacher	Learning from experience Happiest when learning	Career history
Fell pregnant [and] at 16 School wouldn't actually have me back	Observing lessons	Description of school and college experience
Whole world had changed Complete start again Go back, start again	Planning	Relationship with school mentor (negative)
My teacher encourages me Lecturer was absolutely brilliant Really good teacher Inspired me to focus on English	Reflecting	Recount of practical activities trialled in classroom following SPS

Longer key extracts from the interview were recorded below the table. In Jane's case, these included, *'I like the blend of the four days in school. I really get a lot from that'* and *'I've got a lot of the skills that are transferable, I think, into teaching.'*

The same approach was adopted for the coding of fieldnotes and lesson observations. Again, in vivo codes were used alongside process codes relating to the actions and emotions in the room (e.g. 'taking notes', 'reflecting on experience', 'discussing in groups'). Descriptive codes served to capture the content of sessions (e.g. 'grammar', 'National Curriculum', 'GCSE set texts').

Initially, the software package NVivo was utilised to assist with the management of data. Although it was useful to store material in the same place, the process of coding through the programme proved laborious and seemed to restrict the thought process. It was therefore abandoned as a tool early in the analytical process in favour of coding by hand, but it is acknowledged that the structures within the programme did assist with the development of a systematic and thorough approach to the coding and analysis of the qualitative data.

4.9.2 Analytical memos

The process of initial coding for all data sources (fieldnotes, lesson observation notes and transcripts of all interviews) revealed a number of themes and links with the literature. These were recorded as part of the same document, again in tabular form, as indicated below in an extract from the analysis of Jane's interview (12.10.17):

Table 5: Analytical memo table

Participant's words	Jottings and references
Those two people are asking me for two separate things and I don't have the time *I had two people chipping in too late in the day and asking me to change my stuff, I was already - this is just - I'm going to do this but this is just not going to work*	Gatti (2016) 'In the messy work of learning to teach, the intra- and inter-personal conflicts novice teachers experience are often the most exhausting, perplexing, and hard to figure out. Relationships matter.' p51
because there is too much and I haven't had the prep time here to actually do it. *It was two other people adding stuff in at the last minute who I can't really say no to because they're my bosses*	Need to consider emotionality with Jane – ultimately it was her failure to cope with this that led to her leaving the course. Too much 'emotional baggage'? Lack of skills of mentors (both in school and at Oakland ITT?) to deal with her as a mature and experienced trainee?
she was freaking out because she's got the targets to meet so then she was putting pressure on me	Furlong & Maynard (1996) 'In future, it will (therefore) be teachers, acting as mentors to students rather than those in higher education, who will have the key role in the professional; preparation of the next generation of teachers.' p1 Hobson (2002)- being a good teacher doesn't necessarily make for a good mentor, 'analysis of the end-of-course interview transcripts reveals that *12 out of the 16 interviewees reported some problems with at least one of their mentors*.' p14 '(It is possible, of course, that some mentors would wish to question some student teachers' *willingness* to learn.)' p16 – this was the perceived case with Jane at Oakland ITT. (see Ellis & McNicholl p61). 'effective mentors are outstanding teachers…outstanding practitioners are not automatically outstanding mentors' (Carter 2015:41) quoted in Woodbury (2017) p85 Burn et al (2015) 'The challenge of establishing a new teacher identity and building productive relationships with both pupils and colleagues makes learning to teach an emotionally charged process.' p47

I think I know this and I can do this, and I know that and I can work with all these different things. I know the answers. Not all the time but a lot of the time	Is Jane subscribing to a 'what works' agenda? She talks about knowing the answers. Although she describes herself as reflective, there is little evidence of reflection in her language. Sense of agency missing? Ellis (2010) '…the individual beginning teacher seems to pass though the school setting (being influenced by it) rather than being constituted by acting on it, and, indeed, in part shaping it.' p108 Wenzlaff et al (2004) 'Sometimes teachers perceive themselves already to be good teachers. These perceptions, justified or not, can be a powerful barrier to change.' p113

The jottings on the right-hand side take the form of short analytical memos, defined by Clark (2005) as 'sites of conversations with ourselves about our data' (cited in Saldana, 2016 p44). They are distinct from the fieldnotes in that they reflect on the data and look towards possible avenues of analysis. They are about ideas and offer moments of clarification and insight. Some of these notes later formed longer memos, particularly as connections were found between participants, sites or subsequent interviews (see example in Appendix E). A similar approach was adopted for the analysis of fieldnotes and lesson observations, forming tabular records of the data analysis, concurrent with the ongoing collection of data in the field.

4.9.3 Making links

The completion of initial coding and the more detailed analytical jottings for each site revealed common patterns across providers. In the first instance, patterns were identified within data sets, beginning with the interviews. The following table summarises emerging patterns in the interviews, with the participants identified by their initial and the number of the interview (i.e. R1: Rachel, interview 1):

Table 6: Interview analysis

Patterns	Central	Oaklands	Maple
Conflicting roles • Student vs teacher • Boundaries between personal and professional	R1 R2 P2 Z3	H1 H2 H3	L1 T1 T2
Youthfulness	R2 Z3		L3
Biography • Institutional biography • 'growing up in schools'	R1 R2 R3 P1 Z1 Z3	H1 H2 A1 A2 J1	L1 E2

Ideological tensions • Figured world of schools • Clashes with course ideologies • Pedagogical tensions / preferences	R2 R3 Z2 Z3 P2	H3	
Emotionality • Overwhelming • Desire to give up • Feeling lost	R1 R3 Z2	A2 H3	T1 LI1
Saviour narrative • 'Everything depends on the teacher' • Social justice – 'making a difference'	R1 R3 Z1		L1 T1 E1
Theory vs Practice • 'top-tips' / what works agenda • 'too much theory'	R3 P2 P3 Z2 Z3	A1 H1 J1	L1 T1 E1 L2 T2
Behaviour management • Survival / doubts • Lacking in training • 'unteachable'	R2 R3 P2 P3	H3 A3	T2 E3
Balance • Desire to promote approachability • 'going in harder'/'stricter' • Friend vs teacher	R2 P2a	H2	L2 T2
Route selection • Preferences and bias • Misconceptions	P1 P2	H1 J1	E1
Subject knowledge • Relevance • Lack of promotion/support in schools	R1 P1 Z1	H1 H2 A2	E2 T2 L3
Support • Communities of practice • Socialisation in schools • Role of departments	R2		E1 L2
Prioritising school knowledge • Situated learning • Valuing practical experience	P2 Z2 R2 R3	A1 J1	L2 E2
Agency • Voice • Lack of criticality / accepting		A3	LI1
Coming of age • Linear development • 'becoming a teacher', 'proper', 'real life'	R2 P2 P3 Z3	A1	T1 L1
Guilt • Self-doubt • Feeling of letting schools down	R2 R3 Z2	H2	T2 A3
Assignments as 'bolt on'	Z2 P3	H2	A2
Betrayal • by school mentor • by school systems 'caught in the system' • by university	Z2 Z3	A3 H2 J1	A2
Situated knowledge • Limited frame of reference • Issues with transferability		A2 H2	E2 E3

Reflection • Value of • Need for time/space	R3 P3	A2 A3 J1	
Luck		R3 H3 A3	
Learning • From students • Move from focus on performance to learning	P2	A2 A3	

The process was repeated for all data sets, returning first to the coding of fieldnotes and then the lesson observations. Through the identification of patterns across the data, it was possible to create groups or clusters that had conceptual links. For example, 'conflicting roles', 'biography' and 'saviour narrative' became part of the larger concept of 'identity'.

4.9.4 Structuring concepts

The grouping process outlined above resulted in the creation of broader concepts that applied across settings. Five concepts were identified, arising from the data analysis and constructed to address the research questions and give coherence to the presentation of the findings. They would later form the conceptual sections for the chapters on each site (Chapters 5, 6 and 7).

The concepts are detailed below:

1. **The training landscape**

   The geographical and philosophical location of each of the training sites is important to establish, determining what is 'on offer' for trainees. The training providers and placement schools frame the trainees' experience as they embark on the pathway towards qualification as teachers. Theoretical and pedagogical models are juxtaposed with practical strategies as the trainees move between training and teaching settings. To quote Offred, the fictitious narrator of Atwood's 'The Handmaid's Tale', in many ways 'context is all' (Atwood, 1987 p154)

2. **Identity**

   Identity and the formation of the professional is at the heart of the teacher training process. The relevance of personal biography is considered, alongside issues of changing and conflicting identities.

3. **Navigating the course and people**

   The concept of navigation embraces the idea of a training journey but resists assumptions of linearity. Trainees 'make their way' through the training year, finding their place within the training environment and schools and within the numerous professional relationships that impact on their experience. Subject knowledge and the ability to meet the academic requirements of the course is a significant aspect of course completion.

4. **Struggle**

   The concept of struggle addresses the conflicts and tensions that are inherent in the training process. The experience is individual and intense; all participants encounter difficulties at points during the year.

5. **Conceiving and reconceiving the future**

   The future beyond the training year is important, unifying issues of participation, negotiation and struggle as the trainees look beyond the immediacy of the training environment. Preconceptions are addressed and reconceived as the year draws to a close but there is also a sense of ongoing personal negotiation.

4.10 The ethnographic chapters

The following three chapters recount the story of each of the three research sites: Oakland ITT; Central University and Maple Alliance. As outlined above, the chapters are organised using theoretically constructed concepts, arising from analysis of the data and consideration of existing literature. This adoption of common concepts across sites enables cross case analysis but resists comparison, allowing the individuality of each setting to remain intact. The organisation is conceptual rather than chronological, arising from the theoretical analysis of the data and resisting the implication that progression in the training year is linear. The intention is synonymous with Ball (1990)'s description of an ethnography as a means of representation that, 'takes the reader into an actual world to reveal the cultural knowledge working in a particular place and time as it is lived through the subjectivities of its inhabitants' (p229).

Differences in the structure of provision in each site impacts on the presentation of data. Taught sessions in Central University are 'front-loaded', with trainees spending blocked time in the university in September-October and for a further two-week period

in January. The nature of this provision facilitated extensive fieldnotes, apparent in the proportionally greater concentration of direct quotation in the Central University chapter. For Oakland ITT, sessions continue throughout the year but on a weekly basis, whereas for Maple Alliance the face-to-face contact reduces as the year progresses. Despite these differences, interview data is drawn from the same format for each site, with all participants agreeing to three interviews (with the exception of Jane and Lisa who both leave the research period early).

The exploration of the three sites is followed by an integrative chapter that seeks to unify the identified concepts and provide analysis that transcends the particulars of each research site. Preparation for this chapter was conducted simultaneously with the analysis of data, ensuring that unifying concepts arose from the lived experiences encountered in the field. The sociocultural perspective is maintained, aligned to the concept that 'who we are' develops through interactions with relevant others (Beijaard & Meijer, 2017). Finally, an analytical framework addressing concepts of conflict, transition and agency is used to draw inferences across all three research sites.

Chapter 5: Oakland ITT

Introduction

This chapter and the following two on Central University and Maple Alliance report the research findings. Although there are some internal differences, each follows the structure provided by the five identified concepts. The focus is on illuminating how trainee secondary teachers learn to teach in different postgraduate teacher training settings, as outlined in the first research question. The second research question, 'How do the teacher identities of trainee secondary teachers develop over the course of their training year?' is addressed through the exploration of interview and observational data.

The decision to present the research findings in this way is grounded in a commitment to an ethnographic perspective and an intention to illuminate the lived experience of the participants within the context of their training site and their schools. Their voices are present, alongside those of the course tutors. Overt references to existing literature have deliberately been kept to a minimum so as not to interrupt the story of the research.

Oakland ITT

5.1 The training landscape

> 'It is a sunny and bright September day when I arrive at the school for the first Oakland ITT session. At 8.30am, the driveway is filled with schoolchildren, all oblivious to the cars that are vying for spaces in the car park. Much measuring of kilt length occurs, mainly in the middle of roads. It is difficult to differentiate between the arriving trainees and the sixth form students who are making their way into the building, the sixth form business dress code seemingly presenting the girls with similar challenges to some of the trainees. On entry to the building, I am met with a foyer full of trainees. The theatre has been left set up for assembly, the ranked seating not yet organised into the conference style arrangement of circular tables required for the session. Based in the school, there is no designated training space and the large theatre is much in demand.' (Fieldnote 8.9.17).

From the outset, the positioning of Oakland ITT within the school environment is pervasive. Trainees mingle with sixth form students as they wait for the assembly to finish in the theatre. Conversations centre on their first few days in schools; it is Thursday and they have been in their placement school since the start of the week.

Once inside, the voice of course tutor Stuart rises above the nervous chatter as he points to the pile of printed Trainee Progress Files (TPFs) balanced on the edge of the stage awaiting collection, '*That's the bible – don't lose that.'* The room has been transformed into a conference-style space, the ranked seating pushed back and replaced with round tables and comfortable chairs. There are 42 trainees in the room – 26 are female. There is a mix of ages, all but 3 are white.

For many in the room, their engagement with Oakland ITT started almost a year ago. Applications are processed through the national Universities and Colleges Admissions Service (UCAS), but most have already built up a personal relationship with the Oakland ITT team following attendance at one of the many recruitment events held in local schools around the county. There are still spaces available and Course Director Ben is pleased to be interviewing three late applicants that afternoon. '*We've aced recruitment'* he comments. The link between training and recruitment is significant and most trainees secure jobs in partnership schools. Four trainees were appointed to Oakland ITT's host school in the previous year, part of the reasoning behind the school's commitment to running and hosting the SCITT. Ben's dual role as Assistant Headteacher and Director places him on the school's senior team, where discussions around potential appointments are commonplace. Recruitment is his priority, apparent in his interest in the apprenticeship model as a possible graduate training scheme, '*Imagine the staff you could get out of that…*' (29.9.17). Obviously, this idea was pursued as Oakland ITT are now offering teaching apprenticeships as an alternative training route. By January, he is concerned about low recruitment figures for the coming year, despite the successful award of 'Outstanding' from Ofsted in October.

Ben attributes the recruitment success in part to a less restrictive approach to subject specialism than he imagines exists in the universities. This enthusiasm for the role of the school-led provider as both trainer and employer is shared by course tutor Stuart. He sees his ongoing secondary teaching experience as an advantage over the universities, '*In the leafy grounds of the unis, some of those people haven't been in a classroom for 20 years.'* (16.11.17) Ben echoes this view in his comments following a later session delivered by a local SENCO (Special Educational Needs Co-ordinator), '*If that was a university, it would be delivered by a Professor in charge of Special Needs who has written books – it would be a lecture.'* Interestingly, the SENCO's exuberant presentation, punctuated with high volume Queen tracks played from his

hand-held speaker connected to his iPhone, had not been welcomed by all, with Jane's comment '*All that music made me feel really uncomfortable'* (5.10.17) greeted with nods of approval from the other English trainees.

Neither Ben nor Stuart are present at session run by the PGCE lead from the accrediting university. Course tutor and English teacher Cindy fronts this, noting the recent change in the assessment language for assignments. 'Excellent' had been replaced with 'Distinction', 'Good' with 'Merit' and 'Satisfactory' with 'Pass' and she sees this as more scholarly and academic. She discusses issues of time management and library access, before handing over to the visiting Senior Lecturer whose session addresses the writing of a literature review and the need for a critical stance. He is very aware of the realities of schools and is sympathetic to the issues that the trainees and course tutors are experiencing. He does, however, comment to me after the session that the external examiner '*spends less time in schools'* (19.10.17) and is keen to see engagement with the academic literature hence his recommendation for trainees to use journal articles. He sees the local SCITTs as focused and effective as they have buy-in from the schools, something that he is struggling with in his own setting.

5.1.1 Course delivery

The three course tutors at Oakland ITT also teach at the host school, the only non-teaching role provided by the course administrator. Although General Professional Studies (GPS) takes place in the host school, the afternoon Subject Specific Sessions (SPS) are housed in the partnership schools across the county, a decision that is not always welcomed by the trainees (*'We aren't paid to do this course and the travel mounts up.*' Jane 21.9.18). GPS sessions are delivered by the course tutors and by visiting speakers, largely practicing teachers from the partnership and host schools. Lead Subject Mentors (LSMs) deliver the afternoon sessions, often housed in their own classrooms and so subject to the usual rhythms and interruptions of the school day, '*The open door allows the sound of the other classrooms to filter in, the school setting is impossible to ignore.'* (Fieldnote 5.10.17). The LSMs are busy, juggling their own teaching and management commitments with the training schedule, although many reflect on the welcome break from the school routines that the Thursday session provides. A weekly electronic 'Mentor Notices' ensures that all are aware of upcoming deadlines and the focus for the coming week (see example in Appendix F). The two

ProfGCE assignments are launched at two Academic days, with a final Academic Day given over to address health and wellbeing, with a presentation by an Emotional Health Practitioner. GPS sessions always end with an evaluation form, collected in for scrutiny and then returned for filing in Trainee Progress Files. The impartiality of this process is questionable as the form also includes a box relating to evidence against the Teacher Standards, but their completion is a quickly established routine. Notices are given out at the end of each session, supplementing and supporting a weekly newsletter *('Trainee notices is your go-to – that tells you everything you need to know'* Stuart – see example Appendix F*).* It is an intense year, with the weekly GPS/SPS sessions ceasing during the 6-week B placement in the Spring term. By December, they are tired and finding it hard. As one mature Maths trainee comments, '*I'm not sure I would recommend this route – it is a lot of hard work.* (7.12.17).

5.1.2 Theory and practice

The Oakland ITT course emphasises classroom readiness and an expectation that the training will produce fully prepared teachers for employment in local schools. Promotional literature highlights the fact that training is run by '*experienced, practising teachers'* and boasts that '*virtually all our successful trainees are offered NQT teaching posts, many in the schools in which they trained.'* This 'grow your own' approach results in over 80% of trainees securing jobs in partnership schools. Although there is a passing reference to theory on the opening page of the course handbook, the rest of '*the bible'* is concerned with the practicalities of the day to day running of the programme. There is an effort to control the direction of the course from the centre, with the emailed 'Notices' to mentors and trainees reiterating the key messages for each week, although key deadlines and messages are sometimes missed by trainees who fail to internalise all the information. A well utilised Twitter feed promotes links to other relevant accounts and publications (e.g. '*Here you go @[Oakland ITT], follow these accounts: @AceThatTest @EducEndowFoundn @CEMatDurham. All influenced today's session. #itt'* 21.9.17). The discourse is rooted in the practical; advice and tips from the professionals for the uninitiated.

Visiting speakers further emphasise the practical focus. Largely drawn from local schools, these sessions are about the transference of wisdom (*'The theme for the session on behaviour management is already clear – practical tips from the*

experienced teacher to help the inexperienced survive in the classroom.' Fieldnote 8.9.17). There is some teaching of theoretical models, notably in a group-based session responding to pre-circulated materials. This overtly theory-based morning stands alone, and course tutor Cindy is quick to reframe it, *'My job today is to introduce the theory to you and to try and show how it is used in classroom practice.'* Frequent references are made to general pedagogical texts[4] in this and other sessions. These writings are accepted by the trainees without question and often revered by the trainees for their behaviour management 'fixes.'

The discourse of the English subject sessions is practical from the outset of the course. Initially situated in an English classroom, the location serves to further emphasise the realities of teaching,

> 'The door to the room is left open throughout the session and the noise from adjacent classrooms seems to distract some of the trainees. English tutor Hannah seems oblivious. The talk is around strategies for survival in the classroom and learning from those who have honed their skills. '*I have always been an outstanding teacher'* comments Hannah, whilst also acknowledging that her work with trainees has furthered her teaching skills and made her more reflective. Her advice is practical and steeped in experience. '*I don't ever think – what academic theorist is going to help me with a kid throwing a chair.'* She is clear on her role, *'My job is to give you practical advice.'* (Fieldnote 8.9.18).

This first session sets the tone for the weeks that follow, where an emphasis on classroom survival and self-preservation often results in the provision of 'top tips.' There is also a rigid approach to lesson planning, including a session devoted to 3 - part lessons, featuring a passing reference to Bloom's Taxonomy in relation to plenaries ('*Bloom's Technology? – no - that's not right'* Hannah 8.9.18). Later sessions also address examination requirements and a working through of the GCSE criteria. This practical approach is welcomed, offering a contrast to perceptions of what university-based training courses would look like*, 'A lot of theory and a lot of - I imagine, obviously I don't know, but a lot of right and wrong: don't do this, do this, try this, this is another technique. Whereas this is a lot of trial and error'* (Helen Int 1: 29.9.18). A staffing change due to maternity leave brings an even more overtly practical approach, culminating in the distribution of a giftbag of resources for each

[4] Particularly Hendrick, C & MacPherson, R (2017) *What Does It Look Like in the Classroom? Woodbridge*: John Catt Educational Ltd; Allison, S & Tharby, A (2015) *Making Every Lesson Count* Carmarthen: Crown House Publishing; Cowley, S (2014) *Getting the Buggers to Behave* London: Bloomsbury Education

trainee, including lollipop sticks, beanbags and highlighters. The course approach is embodied in this concrete resource, where trainees are encouraged to pick the right strategy out of their toolkit.

5.2 Identity

The lived experience of the three participants from the English subject group drives the narrative of the following accounts, grounded in the local practicalities of their everyday life as trainees at Oakland ITT. They are identified by their pseudonyms, Amanda, Helen and Jane.

5.2.1 Personal biography

Amanda

> *'I did think about teacher training straight from university but for some reason didn't do it. Had children at 25 so they're now all grown up and independent so I know that actually - probably for the last three years, I've just been biding my time knowing that when my youngest went to secondary school and they could just walk there by themselves, it would be feasible for me to do the training course - and saving up enough money to be able to take a year off work and do it. Yes, it's been in the pipeline for a long time*.' (Int1: 5.10.17).

Amanda has pursued a career in the educational sector for over 20 years. She spent five years working in universities on staff development projects and has also worked in special education as a training manager for a national autism charity. More recently, she has spent time in primary schools working as a Learning Support Assistant, finally signing up to a teacher training route once her children became more self-sufficient. She speaks passionately about her own schooling, citing the power of the positive relationship that she had with her own English teacher. By January, this has developed into reflection on pedagogy, '*I just hadn't thought about my school years that much. Now I keep thinking that what was it that those teachers did that made you want to learn really'* (Int2: 11.1.18). This capacity for reflection is notable with Amanda and is present in her Philosophical Statement, completed on entry to the course and in her willingness to provide blogs for the Oakland ITT website. In her Statement, she looks forward to knowing her students individually, taking the time to talk to them about their interests, '*This will be time well spent as it will give me the basis for creating a learning environment which fosters their intrinsic motivation to learn.'* She completes

four blogs for the Oakland ITT website during the year, focusing on her development. She draws on metaphors of journeys and cultivation as she describes her attempts to navigate and nurture her professional life, describing her efforts to organise her thoughts on her teaching experiences as, '*mental gardening'* (Blog 20.10.17 – see full text in Appendix G).

Amanda's role as a mother is important in her approach to teaching. She is caring and equates some of the noise in her classrooms with a reluctance to adopt a harsher disciplinary stance. Although she recognises this, she also distances herself from it, '*The behaviour management, I just need to get…a teacher persona that's more harsh…'* (Int3: 14.5.18). She is surprised by the amount of examination preparation that she sees in Key Stage 3 classrooms, prompting reflections on her own position as an ethical professional English teacher. '*…they're totally drilling them to be able to pass their English exam. I've had a few philosophical moments around that - thinking oh god, is that really what I'm going to be doing.*' (Int1: 5.10.17). Despite appearing to be confident in her motivations and direction, Amanda thrives on feedback, '*I think it's just the nicest thing in the world that having somebody say this is how you get better, this is how you improve and actually taking the time to do that, it's just brilliant.*' (Int2: 11.1.18). She accepts the advice of her school mentor in her main placement on all aspects of her teaching without question, implying a reliance on others that is not evident in her classroom, *'I don't know what I'm going to do without her.'* (Int3:14.5.18).

Amanda is ultimately very successful on the course, obtaining a job in her first placement school, high marks in her two academic assignments and is awarded the outstanding trainee prize at the final Awards' Ceremony. However, to some extent there are limitations placed on her by the course itself. Her previous experience is not visibly acknowledged, particularly her knowledge of Special Educational Needs, and although her written work is of Masters' level standard, Oakland ITT only has accreditation to offer the ProfGCE at Level 6. She, however, is delighted with the outcome of her training year and considers herself to be '*very lucky.*'

Helen

> *'I, myself, didn't actually have a great time in school. I was pretty rebellious and not a very nice kid. It was mainly because I was frustrated that I couldn't get something. I was very stubborn. Most of the time I was lashing out because I didn't understand something or someone didn't explain it in the way that I got. I quickly got a bit of a reputation, and eventually got kicked out of college and spent time in retail doing something I never - I knew I never wanted to do it. So I went back to college and got my head down and I was like, well I knew I wanted to be a teacher, so I'm just going to power through.*' (Int1: 29.9.17).

Helen's mother is a teacher and provides the inspiration for her desire to enter the profession. Despite '*always wanting to teach'*, Helen's own experience of school was not positive, setting her on a trajectory that did not initially lead to teaching. She began her movement into teaching with a position as a cover supervisor in her old secondary school. This narrow frame of reference would come to characterise her teacher training, as she conducts her first placement in the same school and eventually takes on a position there as an English teacher, covering a maternity leave. She applied to three different training providers, including a local university, although her preference was always for the school-based training, '*I knew I didn't want to do the university route because I'm very learn on the job, thrown in the deep end, scare you in to knowledge sort of thing.*' (Int1: 29.9.17).

Helen is defensive about her subject knowledge. She sees teaching as being more about freedom of expression than about transmission. She feels that it is essential to be approachable and accessible for students and her teaching style is often informal and colloquial. Her lack of knowledge of key texts is apparent in SPS sessions, and she is animated by the suggestion from the subject mentor of undertaking GCSE examination marking as professional development, *'I want to do literature because I am crap at literature*.' (SPS 21.6.18). She reflects on her view of teaching at the start of the course, '*I think a good teacher is someone who lets kids have their own opinion and we can discuss about it.'* (Int1: 29.9.17). There is little change in this position by the time of the final interview and she is pleased that '*the kids know that they can talk to me.'* (Int3: 4.6.18).

Jane

Like Helen, Jane also claims that she always wanted to teach, although her initial subject choice was Physical Education. However, several life events including a teenage pregnancy took her career in different directions. Over the years she has held

a variety of jobs, including working in music and art education. The final twist comes with the last of a succession of relocations and some reflection,

> *'I moved. Left Guildford, where I lived. Moved here. Had a complete start again with relationship and job and then thought, I'm just going completely in the wrong direction here. What is it I really want to do? Had to reflect, go back, think about everything and say what is it you, as a person, actually really want to do? Teaching. When were you happiest? When you were learning. So, go back, start again. Just start again and they kindly had me.*' (Int1: 12.10.17).

Unlike most of the participants, there is no saviour narrative in Jane's ambition to teach. She has no aspirations to 'make a difference' and is instead motivated by personal happiness and fulfilment. She sees the ITT course as an opportunity to start again and is convinced that she has selected the right career. Of all the participants, Jane had adopted the most systematic approach to her training route selection, visiting local schools and deciding firmly on a school-led route and on Oakland ITT as the provider. She references her transferable skills and her work and life experience as relevant, sharing early concerns about the writing of assignments, *'I was more worried about the pedagogy and all that side of it and not being able to do the academic stuff because it's been a long time since I was in academia.*' (Int1: 12.10.17).

Unfortunately, this planning was not to lead to success for Jane and she defers from the course in December, intending to return the following year.

5.2.2 Teacher identity

Questions of identity permeate the training year. References to 'journey' and 'progress' are common amongst the participants. Writing in her final Philosophical Statement, Amanda addresses notions of becoming in metaphorical language,

> *'Arthur et al (2005)*[5] *compare the development of the student teacher's practice, knowledge, understanding and beliefs to the development of a photograph in a darkroom. Through a synthesis of experiences, the image reveals itself - slowly, unpredictably, mysteriously. The metaphor is apt, for during the past ten short months, my development towards becoming a competent teacher has seen areas of my practice progressing more quickly than others. My ability to build positive relationships and plan engaging lessons emerged early on; behaviour management and making use of data are only now developing…'* (Amanda PS2).

[5] Arthur, J., Davison, J. and Lewis, M. (2005) Professional Values and Practice. London: Routledge.

Her allusion to competence is significant, highlighting the extent to which she sees the year as concerned in part with the acquisition of key skills. Her compartmentalisation of 'relationships' and 'behaviour management' manifests itself in a desire to find ways to counter her natural positivity in the classroom, which is identified by both the school and Oakland ITT as potentially troublesome. Discussions with her school mentor in her first placement result in a solution, '*I've got a behaviour slide now. What I do, we've talked it through but I will literally stop, put the slide up, sit down and try and look as narky as I can'.* (Int2: 11.1.18). With this slide Amanda literally puts herself on hold, adopting what she perceives as the persona of the strict teacher, modelled on her school mentor and supported by her course tutor. In contrast, observations of her teaching reveal the warmth of her relational approach to her students and the success of classroom management that are not based on a hierarchical disciplinary structure. Her willingness to admit her own mistakes and her genuine response to the work produced by her students have a far greater impact on the class than her attempts to appear stern. In discussion, Amanda often reflects on the impact of her own English teachers and expresses a desire to emulate similar relationships with the students in her care. She is quietly questioning of some practices that she observes in school and at Oakland ITT but remains receptive to the advice of others, seeing herself as '*work in progress'*.

Despite her awareness of the relevance of her own life experiences, in the school environment Amanda's agency is reduced by her unquestioning deference to the more experienced teacher. This is also apparent at times in the training site, where she adopts the role of attentive student that characterised her own schooling. This reversion to a childhood stance is also seen with Helen, her behaviour in taught sessions seemingly synonymous with the lack of focus she acknowledges having at school. The tension inherent in the transition from student to teacher is marked and Helen's placement in her old school seems to exacerbate this further. She grapples with this in her first interview, reflecting on her changing relationship with her old teachers,

> *'It's the few that know me as the rebellious, not very nice kid, that are actually the more comforting. They're actually the ones that are like, I'm really glad that you've not turned out the way that we thought you were going to turn out and that you're coming back and doing this. So it's comforting in a weird way and it's nice that I know them and I can be like, oh, I feel more able to say when I'm struggling because I'm still a student and I'm still their student so it's easier*

> *for me to be like, I don't get it. But it's nice because I'm on a different playing field now. It is odd. It is odd.'* (Int1: 29.9.17).

'I'm still their student' hints at the complexity of her identity as a learner as she attempts to navigate her old school from the other side of the desk. For Helen, teaching is situated and her role as a teacher seems inextricably linked to her experiences as a student. She has many assumptions about the nature of students at the school and personal experience of the teaching of her mentor, who was her own English teacher. Her developing pedagogy is interlinked with her institutional experience, most apparent when she encounters difficulties in her second placement. Her desire to be liked and accepted by staff and students is strong and she sees this as the root cause of any disciplinary issues that she encounters. As she comments, *'I've always said from the beginning that the key thing is approachability, that there is a fine balance between behaviour management and actually getting on with them'* (Int2:30.1.18). She feels that she gets this balance wrong initially, equating this with her role, '*I started here thinking that I didn't have authority just because I was a trainee teacher*.' (Int2: 30.1.18). Under the guidance of her school mentor, she develops a more authoritative approach to classroom management, but one that is rooted firmly in the routines and regulations of her placement school. These skills do not prove to be transferable and she is pleased to return to the school following her second placement.

Jane is openly conscious of her position as a more mature trainee from the start, frequently referring to how her life experiences enhance her teacher role,

> *'I've got work experience. I've got practical experience. I've got experience of chairing meetings, minuting meetings. I can skim-read. I've got a lot of the skills that are transferable, I think, into teaching.'* (Int1: 12.10.17).

She believes that she has relevant skills and knowledge and struggles to understand when things begin to unravel in her school placement, '*I think I know this and I can do this, and I know that and I can work with all these different things. I know the answers. Not all the time but a lot of the time.'* (Int1: 12.10.18). Unlike Amanda, she is quick to voice her frustrations about visiting speakers if she feels that they are not responding to the needs of the room and is a frequent visitor to the Course Director's office to comment on the content of subject sessions. She is not unaware of her judgemental stance, '*I'm very - I'm quite critical and I am quite reflective anyway so those are things that I do. I hope it doesn't come across as negative'* (Int1: 12.10.17).

Jane sees herself as a seasoned professional with valuable and transferable skills. Her perception of herself as a knowledgeable and potentially effective teacher becomes a barrier to progression and comes to characterise the relationships she has with her school mentor, course tutor and LSM, who observes in her a lack of willingness to *'get stuck in at the deep end and teach.*' (16.11.17). Her initial confidence and surety are not endearing to the other trainees and as she encounters issues in her school placement, she becomes increasingly more withdrawn, physically isolating herself from the other English trainees in GPS sessions. Behind the façade of confidence, there are signs of unhappiness and frustration which manifest themselves in a desire to share,

> 'Jane rushes to catch up with me, reporting that her chat with her tutor had been reassuring. She is close to tears and is concerned about going into school the following day. I ask if anyone is planning to speak with her mentor. '*I've asked her to tell me first if she does as I think it might make things worse'* she replies. For all her confidence, she looks vulnerable as she walks away to her car, struggling with her oversized bag.' (Fieldnote 2.11.17).

Jane's forthright approach is atypical of the trainees at Oakland ITT. She holds her school mentor wholly responsible for the difficulties that she encounters in her placement, a view that is not shared by her course tutor who is saddened but not surprised by her withdrawal, '*She found it very difficult to take any criticism on board, of any kind.*' She acknowledges that Jane's relationship with her mentor in school was strained, but places no responsibility on the school, instead citing Jane's dogmatism, '*She just found it very difficult to listen.'* (7.12.17). The extent to which the school mentor had capacity to cope with this unusually confident mature trainee is a point of speculation. What is certain is that Jane's approach was far less palatable than the deference shown by Amanda.

5.3 Navigating the course and people

5.3.1 Making progress?

> 'The chat is of the past week. There is enthusiastic greeting of friends and questions about lessons and starters that have been delivered since Thursday. The trainees seem oblivious to the sixth form students who are also gathered in the central area before lessons begin. Unlike in the first week, there is marked difference in the dress code of the trainees compared with the sixth

> formers. Now they are teachers, dressed smartly and formally.' (Vignette extract 21.9.17).

The discourse of Oakland ITT is one of linear progression; the cohort enter as trainees and leave as NQTs, equipped with the necessary skills to manage in the classroom. The gathering of sufficient evidence against each of the national Teacher Standards results in the awarding of Qualified Teacher Status. 'Qualification' is the differentiator between the trainees and the staff in schools, exemplified in LSM Hannah's promotion of experimentation with the English group, '*If it goes wrong and you've got a qualified member of staff in the room, they can jump in for you.'* (Fieldnote 12.10.17). In reality, most of the school in the partnership are Academies with the freedom to hire unqualified staff, and several of the trainees have already been teaching in schools without QTS. Nonetheless, previous roles are considered inferior, apparent when Helen recounts how she had met some of her Year 9 English class on an impromptu cover lesson and their behaviour had been poor. '*They went back to seeing me as a cover supervisor like last year.'* (Fieldnote 2.11.17). Helen remains convinced throughout the year that she is on an upward trajectory, gaining skills as she passes through the process. Her training year is a necessary hurdle and she believes that clearing it will leave her classroom ready, '*I just want to get through this year and get my qualification and be able to actually teach and have my own class and get on with it.'* (Int1: 29.9.17). Amanda shares this concept of linear progression, commenting on her progress as early as October,

> *'At the moment I know I couldn't do it but I can look back already on where I was at the start of the course and say, well I've already made progress. There's already things that I can do now that I couldn't have done a month ago so I can come and see that hopefully if I just keep making progress, at the end of the year I'm going to be in a position where I can have a class of my own and confidently.'* (Int1: 5.10.17).

Until they qualify, they are not 'proper teachers' but trainees who return to the fold each week. The 6-week B placement presents a challenge. As a visiting NQT (and Oakland ITT graduate) comments, '*There's no GPS so no fall back – you have to be a real teacher.*' (11.1.18). It is during this stage that both Helen and Amanda encounter their most significant difficulties.

Despite their notions of linear progression, challenge comes for both with the transition to different contexts, requiring the transfer of skills and knowledge. Amanda is initially positive, recognising her own familiarity with her first placement, *'I think*

it would be good for me to go somewhere else because I've got a bit too attached' (Int2: 11.1.18). Her learning has become contextualised and she is embedded within the practices of her first school, exacerbated by her securing a job there prior to beginning her second placement. Faced with a different mentor and a more challenging school demographic, she struggles with classroom management and is relieved when the placement ends, '*'I guess it will have made me stronger'* she laughs but is clearly delighted to be back at the school where will be working in September.' (Fieldnote 28.3.18) Similarly, Helen finds it difficult to gain the same levels of control that she has experienced in her first placement. She is critical of the school's behaviour systems and the students' apparent contempt, '*You could put them in after school consecutively and they just wouldn't be bothered.*' (Int3:4.6.18). Helen is already strongly invested in her first placement and from the start draws on her prior knowledge as a cover supervisor and former pupil,

> *'So even the problem kids - not problem kids, that sounds awful - the kids that cause issues in classes, I already knew who they were so it was already easy for me to plan the lesson and say well that kid has to do this because otherwise they will run riot and smash a chair or whatever they're going to do.'* (Int1: 29.9.17)

Without this insight, she falters. For both, in the transference of skills from the training room to the classroom, context proves to be central. At the start of the year, Helen is adamant that she does not wish to teach in her old school,

> *'But I went there as a kid, I've done the cover supervisor, I've trained there. Do I then want to spend the next, 10, 15, however many years working there as well? I didn't think that that was a good path for teaching because I don't want to see just one school. I want to see the bad schools, the good schools and eventually probably not live round here'.* (Int1: 29.9.17).

By the end of the year, she has withdrawn from her job in her second placement in favour of a maternity cover in her first despite the frustrations of the course tutor *('It places us in a very difficult position professionally'* Fieldnote 6.5.18). The decision is expedient for Helen, allowing her to '*get my NQT year out of the way'* (Int3: 4.6.18) in an accessible environment. Amanda struggles more with her decision to remain in her placement school. Although she is delighted by the appointment, she feels the need to justify her choice, 'As we walk to reception, she talks about how deceptive a place the school is – not all made up of the cosy middle-class families that you might expect' (Fieldnote 14.5.18). The issues she encounters during her second placement sit heavy

and form part of her final reflection on her year, '*the thing I'm definitely not good at yet, which still remains a target, is the behaviour management. I've still got a lot to learn on that.*' (Int3: 14.5.18).

5.3.2 Subject knowledge

All trainees at Oakland ITT are preparing to teach in the secondary phase and, as such, have entered the course with a chosen subject, although the academic backgrounds vary considerably. This applies as much to LSMs as it does to trainees. Of the English LSMs, Hannah has never taught A level and Carol is open about her own learning curve, *'I never knew how much I didn't know until I started A level teaching'* she says, going on to share one of her 'favourite' phrases, '*You don't know what you don't know because you don't know.'* (Fieldnote 25.1.18). Although subject sessions address elements of English teaching they are largely framed around general pedagogy rather than subject specialism, bearing such names as 'Practical approaches to Drama' and 'Questioning.' The range of literature texts cited is limited to common GCSE set texts and there is no mention of a historical perspective or of influencing theorists, save passing reference to Bloom's Taxonomy[6] and Kagan structures[7].

For Amanda, the motivation to teach English is routed in a belief in its centrality to the curriculum, '*English is so important, I mean - perhaps not to go on to do A Levels or not to go on to university but just as a basis for just getting on in life*' (Int1: 5.10.18). Her subject knowledge is strong and she frequently demonstrates an engagement with relevant teaching issues that is not evident from the other trainees, referencing articles from NATE (National Association for Teaching of English) and enthusing about visits to current plays. During her first placement, her teaching is framed around improving written and oral outcomes for her classes, but as she encounters behavioural issues in her second placement, so her subject focus diminishes. Her reflections become dominated by management strategies as her planning is hindered by the complexities of her timetable. Discourse around English returns at the end of the course. Removed from the disciplinary struggles, she can again reflect on her own knowledge,

[6] Bloom, B., Englehart, M. Furst, E., Hill, W., & Krathwohl, D. (1956). *Taxonomy of educational objectives: The classification of educational goals*. Handbook I: Cognitive domain. New York, Toronto: Longmans, Green

[7] Kagan, S. & Kagan, M. Kagan (2009) *Cooperative Learning*. San Clemente, CA: Kagan Publishing

verbalising the link that she sees between her own experiences and what she feels able to teach,

> *'Could do A level literature probably but I won't be ready to teach A level language for quite a while, I don't think…I need to go and sit one myself, I think, first. I don't think I would feel qualified to teach that until you've done it yourself really.'* (Int3: 14.5.18).

Helen's subject knowledge is less secure, by her own admission. Initially interested in Dance and then graduating with a degree in Creative Writing, she is unfamiliar with many of the texts mentioned in the subject sessions. Unlike Amanda, she rarely speaks about her chosen subject, couching her reflections on the profession in terms of her relationship with the students,

> *''I don't mind if a kid doesn't like Shakespeare. That's absolutely fine by me. But if you can back it up, that's even better. If you can tell me why, then I'm happy with that. If you just say, I don't like him because he's boring. Then that's naff and I don't want to hear it. So I think approachability is a key thing for me, especially because I want kids to be able to say to me, I don't like Shakespeare and feel comfortable in their own opinion because that's fine. Not everyone's going to love Shakespeare.'* (Int1: 29.9.17).

Jane has concerns about accessing subject material, '*it's been a long time since I was in academia'* (Int: 12.10.17). She has fond memories of both her degree in Modern Art Specialising in Literature and her English teachers, which had prompted her decision to focus on English. As part of her extensive research into ITT courses, she shadows some teachers in local schools, but avoids English lessons, *'I just did starters for business studies rather than English, because I'd got HR experience.'* (Int1: 12.10.17). Although she is vocal in early subject sessions, it is invariably with regard to the mechanics of teaching rather than the subject and she is keen to see various strategies modelled before using them herself, '*I tried the whiteboards….That was all learning. I will do it again but I want to see someone else do it first.'* (Int1: 12.10.17).

5.3.3 Working relationships

The majority of the course is spent in schools, necessitating the establishment of working professional relationships, particularly with school-based mentors. All three participants experience difficulties with this relationship at times during the year and for Jane, it is the key factor in her decision to withdraw. Signs of Jane's inability to accept responsibility are there early on, 'She is supposed to be teaching tomorrow but feels her mentor has let her down, '*She hasn't sent me the material, so I'm not sure*

that's going to happen.' (Fieldnote 12.10.17). References to her mentor become more emotionally charged as the relationship begins to break down, with Jane's capacity to listen impaired by her feelings of betrayal. As another staff member joins the fray, Jane feels trapped, *'It was two other people adding stuff in at the last minute who I can't really say no to because they're my bosses'* (Int1: 12.10.17). Jane feels unsupported, citing the conflict between her mentor's desire to meet targets and her capacity to assist her trainee.

Amanda encounters similar issues in her second placement, where her mentor is struggling with personal issues that detract from her role. Although sympathetic, Amanda clearly resents the lack of support that she received in what proved to be a difficult experience. The unfaltering faith that she had built up in the professionals that surround her comes into question as she encounters a challenging class,

> *'…having kids saying, I can't - can I go outside and work? Can you send me out so I can actually do some work? Very bad. Low points in my teaching career. And my mentor going, yeah, I'm really glad you've got them for a while.'* (Int3: 14.5.18).

She tries to take responsibility for the students herself, spending time with them in student support and adopting disconnected practical approaches, '*I was watching YouTube videos on how to do it and then trying to do that, trying all sorts of ridiculous behaviour management - positive reward strategies like raffle tickets. It was just stupid*.' (Int3: 14.5.18). Although her experience was negative ('*It was a proper - chairs thrown across the classroom'*), she draws on her insights as a mother in an attempt to understand the students, helping her to rationalise her feelings of panic ('*They were caged – coiled'* Int3: 14.5.18). As a result, she is able to transcend the shortcomings of her mentor but is visibly relieved when the 6-week placement comes to an end.

These experiences highlight issues with the mentor role in schools and with the relationship between the schools and the training provider. Excellence in teaching does not necessarily translate into excellence in mentoring, and many school-based mentors are also juggling departmental responsibilities and busy timetables. There is an ambiguity in the lines of responsibility and the notion of partnership with the school is not always apparent, exemplified in the accusatory tone in one comment from a course tutor at Oakland ITT regarding a trainee who has been struggling, *'I dunno – if*

I was the mentor I'd feel a bit guilty about that. I'd feel a bit responsible' (Fieldnote 28.6.18). Despite the provision of centralised mentor training by Oakland ITT, the individual relationships are heavily influenced by context and both Amanda and Helen encounter difficulties when they transition to a different setting. In their first placement they both emulate the ways of working of their mentors, adopting their strategies and following their advice. This hierarchy is evident during an observation of Helen's class,

> 'Just as she is about to start the class, her mentor and class teacher arrives and asks if she can '*pinch'* 5 minutes at the start of the lesson to finish her work on revision from this morning. Immediately, control is transferred to her and Helen takes on the role of observer.' (Obs2: 4.6.18).

For Jane, the toxicity of her mentor relationship takes this hierarchy to the extreme, '*She thinks of me as her lackey,'* she comments, describing how she had been exchanging texts with her until late in the evening. *'I need to do more things badly to make her feel better'* (Fieldnote 2.11.17). Observations of Amanda in her first placement see an ostensibly more passive role from her mentor, although again there is evidence of an undermining of her authority ('Her mentor interjects, '*Miss, they can write in each other's books*.' Amanda is thrown, '*Oh, can they do that?*'' (Obs2: 14.5.18). The presence of a mentor at the back of a room will always serve to highlight the trainee status and both Helen and Amanda look forward to a time when they can '*go it alone*.'

5.4 Struggle

> '*Miss, why did you come to school if you are ill?*' asks a boy at the front. *'Because I love you guys…'* (Helen Obs1: 31.1.18).

Teaching is tiring. The physical and emotional struggle is tangible at points throughout the year, as exemplified in the above exchange in Helen's classroom. From the start, she experiences difficulties managing the demands of evidence collation for her folders,

> *'So you have a GPS one, an SPS one, standards and then your everyday teaching one. But your everyday teaching one could go into your standards and then your GPS and SPS could also go into your standards but some of your standards can't go into the other three. I'm lost. Apparently, they're meant to be going through it at some point but it does confuse me.*' (Int1: 29.9.17).

She continues to worry about this at points throughout the first term but falls short of asking for help, only seeking advice from her fellow trainees. By the final subject session, she has put the concerns behind her, advising future trainees to '*take a chill pill.'* She recounts how she was ill for much of the first term as a consequence of '*stress and pressure.'* In reality, it was the short placement in the second term that proved to be Helen's most challenging time, although she avoids taking responsibility for the issues she encountered, citing instead the intransigent discipline structure and '*kids who don't care.*' Without any other point of reference, she draws direct comparisons with her first placement and utilises the same classroom management strategies despite the very different context. The situation is further exacerbated by her having accepted a job at the school,

> '*behaviour was horrendous and I really struggled…It's just here I thought behaviour was my strongest point and then when I went to there, it was definitely my worst….I constantly had to be the best of myself in every lesson because I needed to prove to them that they were right in giving me a job, which was hard because I am still training and I am still going to make mistakes.*' (Int3: 4.6.18).

Defining herself as a trainee excuses her mistakes and provides her with the justification for her experiences. By the end of the interview, she appears to have erased the troubling 6 weeks from memory, '*I haven't found that my year, while talking to everyone else, has been pretty average. I've not had any real issues.'* (Int3: 4.6.18). The iterative reflection cycle is underdeveloped in Helen's narrative as she seeks external justifications for the challenges that she encounters. For example, she rationalises her struggle with Year 7, *'I think it's because they're just so loud and so needy. At the moment they're not listening to anyone. Not just me. Year 7 is a problem year*.' (Int3: 4.6.18). Her language is indicative of the conversations that she has with her mentor that are focused on fixing problems and identifying practical strategies. Between them, they devise approaches to the classes they share that will benefit them both, but do not prove to be easily transferable to a different setting.

For Amanda, time is a frequent source of struggle as she juggles her commitments as a mother and a trainee teacher. Enacting her previous role as a diligent student, she is keen to perform well on all written assignments and can find the weekly training sessions a distraction,

> ‘*we were coming up to the deadline for our assignment I could feel it being like oh it would be so nice if we could just have some time, if they just said to us okay, come in for GPS but actually go off to the library and do some work on your assignment or something to support that kind of feeling of panic.*’ (Int2: 11.1.18).

Her feeling of panic is shared by Jane, who craves the headspace to ‘*actually plan my own stuff now*.’ (Int1: 12.10.17). Both like to feel in control and struggle when they feel underprepared, apparent during Amanda’s second placement where a complex timetable left her feeling unable to plan ahead. Tensions are clear as the trainees attempt to manage the rigidity of course deadlines and the need to respond to the daily situational incidents in schools. They are both learners and teachers; completing assignments whilst marking those of others. In the classroom, Amanda draws on her relationships with students, acknowledging her own mistakes as she responds to the needs of the room. She is aware of how she utilises her own experiences as a student and reflects on the difficulties of accessing those children who are different from herself,

> *‘There's ones that I just think oh I don't understand you at all. Then that's the challenge, isn't it, is trying to build a relationship with the ones that you think well actually this isn't a natural - I don't really know where you're coming from or what makes you tick.’* (Int2: 11.1.18).

When things do not go to plan, it is the student experience that concerns her as she worries that she has ‘*let them down*.’ In her final interview, it is the broader role of teaching within society that she reflects on, ‘*It's a very important role in our society I think, not only educating our kids but safeguarding them, because we know them better than - aside from the families, and if the families are the issue then we know them as well as anybody, don’t we?’* (Int3: 14.5.18).

A sense of responsibility is apparent in her narrative and her emotional engagement is evident. She is not alone. Throughout the interviews with participants, words such as ‘*stress’*, ‘*worry’*, ‘*overburdened’*, ‘*proud’* and ‘*anxious’* are common, highlighting both the emotionality of the year and the lack of certainty that the trainees feel at all stages in the process.

5.4.1 Navigating tensions

The transition from university student or employee to that of a trainee teacher proves complex and emotional with trainees navigating their way between school, training

provider and their own personal contexts. By November, many are struggling. Course tutor Stuart positions himself almost as nurturing parent, '*It's okay, you are all at different stages and all of us are in our teaching, family life, social life but with the support of us you will get through. You are a community and you need to be here for one another*' (Fieldnote 16.11.17). The weekly sessions provide a break from the classroom and an opportunity to share experiences but also mark a change in expectation. Navigating the duality of existing as both student and teacher results in a regression for Helen in the training environment; her banter with others becoming an annoyance for some of her colleagues ('*You two children behave'* Fieldnote 6.5.18) although her apparent lack of focus may mask deeper frustrations, '*I don't really know what we're meant to be taking away from this. It's just information after information.'* (Int3: 4.6.18). The promotion of a 'what works' agenda in taught sessions can leave trainees feeling lost as they try and adapt the strategies for their individual context. It is a sharp transition between school environment and the training room. The two worlds can seem disconnected and there appears to be little appreciation of the various levels of experience in the room. Some of the salaried trainees have already been working in schools for some time and others have had roles as cover supervisors. The adoption of general approaches to topics by guest speakers can be a source of frustration, particularly when these are not then developed further in the subject specific input,

> 'I walk up to the room with the two salaried trainees who bemoan the rather general nature of the morning session on reading skills, delivered by a local headteacher. Both felt that it needed to be more subject specific and had found it a bit patronising for English teachers' (Fieldnote 9.11.17).

Group discussions are always welcomed, alluding to how the trainees value the opportunity to share their experiences over the acquisition of new knowledge. Referring to a particularly didactic session on SEN(D) delivered by a visiting consultant, even the invariably positive Amanda is moved to quiet criticism,

> *'There was a lot of talking rather than active discussion and involvement which was I think perhaps just could have been a little bit more…you can still take something from it, can't you?...It's quite nice to just to sit down and listen*.' (Int2: 11.1.18).

Time can pass slowly and the provision of refreshments in the same room the theatre also means that there is not physical break from the space ('A Maths trainee walks past me on his way to the coffee urn, commenting to his colleague, '*Two hours without a break – it's worse than two hours of teaching.'* Fieldnote 2.11.17). This arrangement does mean that the course tutors mingle with trainees during breaks, scheduling school observations and engaging in informal conversations about school issues. The emphasis is on personal engagement and support, with a tone of reassurance permeating interactions, *'Don't worry, I don't change when I come in to observe you. I am still smiley, happy Stuart'* he reassures. (Fieldnote 7.12.17). This nurturing and cajoling approach characterises the training at Oakland ITT and seems to alleviate some of the tensions. However, it also brings with it a sense of responsibility and a desire not to 'let down' the team. There is an acceptance of the seniority of the course tutors, based on their years of teaching experience, '*You just have to trust that they know what they're doing because they do, don't they?'* (Amanda Int2: 11.1.18).

Within the training environment, there are contrasts as the trainees move from general sessions to their subject studies. Geographically separated, the two training sites can also appear ideologically apart. The provision of a range of guest speakers in the morning sessions can lead to contradictions in message in later sessions and a lack of coherence across the day. The characteristics of the subject groups change between the two settings, with a closer community emerging amongst the English trainees once they are separated from the other subjects. The group show deference to English mentor Hannah, who positions herself as separate from the Oakland ITT 'assessors', taking ownership as she discusses evidence folders,

> ''*No-one is going to fail you because you've got too much evidence'* comments Hannah, reeling off suggestions of the type of things they can include. The whole conversation feels like an exercise in collusion – how can they amass enough evidence to convince the assessors that they have done enough? Hannah is keen that '*her English trainees'* all get the top mark for their folders.' (Fieldnote 5.10.17).

There are some tensions when Hannah's maternity leave necessitates a change of staffing, demonstrating both the centrality and fragility of the relationships that are established on the course. The group has already bonded with Hannah, and her replacement, Carol, is never fully accepted. Amanda remains studious but begins to take fewer notes during the afternoon. Helen is less distracted than in the morning

sessions, although Carol's tendency to meander into anecdotes based on her own teaching is clearly a source of annoyance. Devoid of challenge, the trainees soon take a passive role as lengthy presentations catalogue practical classroom approaches. Frequently, there is a sense of quiet toleration, '*They listen politely but no-one is engaged. Amanda smiles knowingly at me from across the room.*' (Fieldnote 25.1.18). Overall, Helen is happy with the balance, '*I think if there was any longer on theory on Thursdays, it would get very boring.'* (Int3: 4.6.18). The definition of theory here is interesting, used as a generic term for all aspects of the provider led training. She sees the sessions as fixed and inflexible, as demonstrated in the following taken in a subject session,

> 'Helen comes in, moaning. The session on job applications isn't until next week, her mentor is currently out of school and the local grammar advertising an English post, but the deadline was last week. '*I put my application in, but it's probably rubbish'*, she sighs, putting her head on the table.' (Fieldnote 7.12.18).

Although Helen has a course tutor at Oakland ITT, she has not thought to contact them in advance of her application and instead rails against the timetable. Locked in the identity of student, she lacks the agency to seek support.

5.5 Conceiving and reconceiving the future

> *'Teaching is definitely what I'm going to do for my whole career… This has to work. I don't see anything else happening.'* (Helen Int3: 4.6.18).

All three participants enter the year with the intention of emerging on the other side as qualified teachers, committed to a lifelong career in the profession. Even after her decision to withdraw, Jane speaks of returning to start again, adamant that teaching is the right place for her. After her false starts, Helen is also convinced that she is in it for the long haul, harbouring ambitions of headship. By the end of the year, she sees herself as classroom ready, having mastered her classroom management,

> *'I think at the beginning I didn't really have a good balance. I would flick between being really strict and trying to control behaviour to then being really relaxed because it was like a semi-fun lesson. Whereas now I have levelled out and the kids know that they can talk to me. It's fine. They can have a conversation and I don't mind them having personal conversations as long as they get back onto task. But if I tell them, sit properly, spit your gum out tuck your shirt in, they will do it'* (Int3: 4.6.18).

Helen's certainty in her image of her future self is such that she is able to transcend the difficulties that she experiences during the year. Initial concerns around academic assignments are buried ('*The assignments I'm fine with. I've got no issues with the assignments'* Int3:4.6.18) and the problematic time in her second placement is justified as she was '*still training and I am still going to make mistakes*.' (Int3: 4.6.18). By the end of the year, she is trained and starts out on her route to headship, enacting the institutional practices of her school. She feels ready to leave and is committed to a career in teaching, partly due to a lack of a viable alternative, '*I don't have any other skill to be able to do anything else'*. (Int 3: 4.6.18).

For Amanda, the decision to enter teaching had been deferred due to the commitment of family life. She muses on whether she should have trained earlier, *'I think I'll make a better teacher now I have some life experience.*' (Obs3: 14.5.18). During the first term, her maternal identity is to the fore, with frequent references to her children's education in group discussions. As she accrues more school experience, her comments become more grounded in her classroom encounters. Her thoughts on her role as a teacher move from performance to facilitation, '*When you start off, you think it's about you, don't you? You think it's about you performing, and quite quickly you realise the focus is on them and what they're learning.'* (Int3: 14.5.18). Amanda's capacity for reflection is central to her development as a teacher. From the outset, she demonstrates as capacity for compartmentalising the various facets of her life, exemplified metaphorically in an early Blog post for the Oakland ITT webpage,

> 'Meticulously, I rake through all the memories of the day, trying to bring them into tidy piles, so that I can sleep. In one pile there are the things I should (or should not) have said. In another are the things I could have done differently. Next to them in a dark corner, the things I messed up. I force myself to add to these piles some cheerier thoughts: a piece of positive feedback I've had, something I did which helped my pupils learn, or made them smile. In the dark stretches of the night, I turn each incident over, examine it, either cursorily or at length, before laying it down. I think it helps. It helps because reflection and self-criticism are at the heart of this year.' (Blog 20.10.17).

She looks forward to a time as a teacher where she will have perfected her classroom management skills and developed a greater understanding of A Level English Language, but skills acquisition is not a primary motivation. Instead, she remains focused on the desire to 'make a difference', but one that is routed in her students' academic and social confidence. This is not a revelation that comes at the end of the

course. By January, she is beginning to overcome her own feelings of self-consciousness, '*it's about a long-term learning journey really for them….It's not about what you do in a particular one lesson and did you fall off a chair, it's not about that. It's about that long-term journey and the relationships'* (Int2:11.1.18). Although she has a secured a job at a school where she feels very comfortable, she is not unaware of the struggles ahead and sees the end of the training year as the start of a long-term commitment to ongoing professional development. The formation of her teacher identity is an ongoing process, encapsulating a fluidity that is less apparent in Helen at this stage.

5.6 Conclusion

When addressing the research question, 'How do trainee secondary teachers learn to teach in different postgraduate teacher training settings?', the findings from Oakland ITT highlight an emphasis on practical instruction and a view of teacher training synonymous with linear progression. The teacher training course at Oakland ITT is less than a calendar year. Following a 2-day induction in July, the programme runs from the first week of September until the end of June. It is full-time, requiring trainees to be available Monday-Friday during term-time. This tight time frame encourages a mindset of linearity as the trainees work their way through their placements and assignments, accruing evidence toward the Teacher Standards. However, for Amanda, Helen and Jane progression through the year is not linear, influenced instead by the relevance of context. The school discourses are loud and dominant and all three experience difficulties with their school-based mentors. For Jane, the breakdown of relationships in the school is catastrophic.

The second research question, 'How do the teacher identities of trainee secondary teachers develop over the course of their training year?' is exemplified in the participants' responses and their experiences highlight key differences. For Helen and Amanda, the year is a success in that they both gain QTS, ProfGCE and employment, but despite experiencing the same training at Oakland ITT, their views on teaching differ. For Helen, classroom management is a key focus and one that becomes wedded to her own identification as a teacher. Her strategies are practical and often generic, effective in her institutional context but not always transferable. For Amanda, her experiences in the classroom have altered her perception of the teacher role but the

year has also highlighted her reliance on feedback. She is not alone in this desire for affirmation; providers regularly seek comment on the observations from the research, apparent in the following interaction with course tutor Stuart,

> 'he makes his way over to me, commenting on how quickly the year has passed and seeking feedback from my observations of the different sites. I make no judgement but do reference the resilience of the trainees at Oakland ITT. He agrees, '*I think that's because we look after them and look out for them. At the end of the day, if it's all going wrong, we can bring them here.'* (Fieldnote 28.6.18).

These words encapsulate both the personal touch and the safety of this training provider. Ultimately, the 'grow your own' approach removes an element of risk – anyone struggling can always be brought into the fold of the host school. The question remains as to whether this thinking gives trainees the critical space that they need to develop their own approach and identity as teachers.

Chapter 6: Central University

6.1 The training landscape

6.1.1 PGCE English

> 'The first session begins at 9.25am. There is an air of expectation in the room. There are 21 people present (only 3 male; no obvious mature students) but there should be 23, *'It's not yet 9.30, they have 2 minutes'* says Maria, before going on to stress the importance of punctuality on what is a professional course. The room is spacious, airy and a pleasant temperature. The three large windows have blinds which are pulled down. The tables in the room are new ('*They tessellate!'* – Maria) as are the chairs – which are lightweight and on wheels. A vibrant wall display boasts the title PGCE 2017 and appears to be the product of a reflective session.' (Fieldnote 18.9.17).

The first session in the university-led provision is subject based, the gathered trainees all embarking on their training as secondary English teachers. The majority of the 23 trainees appear to be in their 20s and there is some ethnic diversity. The session is delivered by English PGCE Director Maria who, after a short ice breaker, instructs the group to write down what type of English teacher they would like to be on sticky notes. A hushed silence descends for four minutes before some are read out: '*Approachable, tough, calm and knowledgeable'; 'Challenging and engaging, inspiring students through the lens of literature'; 'I would like to help people understand things differently.'* It feels like a sixth form classroom, with the trainees looking to Maria for affirmation. She is responsive, countering their insecurities with reassuring words from her elevated position, perched on the desk at the front of the room, *'You will all face those days when you think I cannot do this anymore – but you will.'* The session continues at a leisurely pace, with group activities punctuated by a break which sees trainees heading over to the main building to secure coffee from the cafeteria. Towards the end of the morning, the Professional Development Profiles (PDPs) are distributed (*'These you have to keep and value'* – Maria) and a list of placement schools is read out, prompting much chatter and frantic Googling on phones. All have spent four days in a primary school as preparation for the course, but it will be another two and a half weeks before they begin their first placement.

Recruitment to the PGCE programme is competitive, with most applicants making an active decision to pursue a university-led training route, seeing it as synonymous with an emphasis on subject knowledge,

> *'I'm not saying you have to go to university at all to educate you further in something, you can read the same books whether you're at Cambridge or you're sitting in Costa Coffee, but I think I just needed to learn more about a subject.'* (Rachel Int1:28.9.17).

The lure of a high-ranking university located in a large city is powerful, '*I was thinking that if I didn't get Central, I'd want to defer a year to re-apply.'* (Peter Int1: 3.10.17) This confidence in the quality of provision and the relevance of reputation is shared by the tutors. In a later subject session dedicated to job applications, course tutor Fiona tells the expectant group, '*Most people get the first one they apply for. Certainly, the second – you'll all have jobs by March.'* She is certain that trainees on interview would be taken through to the afternoon following a taught lesson, '*Central students rarely get eliminated at that stage.'* Guest speakers are drawn from the university and PGCE alumni who have secured teaching positions in the city, often in schools hosting placements. There is a notion of shared experience, '*A hundred years ago I was a Central trainee as you are*' (Fieldnote 27.11.17) and echoes of their own training experiences, 'He makes a clear link between English and Film, which is reminiscent of one of Maria's sessions. He is an ex-Central trainee after all' (Fieldnote 8.1.18).

The English group seem to identify with the teaching space, but no-one ever takes control of the layout of the room. The trainees always arrive first and sit wherever the desks happen to be, although friendship groups are quick to emerge and remain relatively constant throughout the year. There is disquiet when they return to the room towards the end of the course to find it changed, 'It has been redecorated and is clinically white – all traces of the displays removed. It looks very stark and prompts comments from everyone as they enter.' (Fieldnote 1.6.18).

6.1.2 Beyond subject provision

Running alongside the subject provision, the 'Studying Policy and Professional Practice' course is delivered via lectures and follow-up seminars in cross-subject groups. Colloquially termed S3P, topics for this course include Primary/Secondary Transfer, Inclusion and Assessment for Learning. The Module Handbook opens with

a quotation from the Carter Review (2015)[8], included without further explanation or context, before an outline of the intended focus and outcomes of the course. Lectures are delivered to the whole PGCE cohort, in a theatre spacious enough to comfortably house everyone. There is limited opportunity to contribute to debates in this arena as a variety of speakers 'unpack the agenda' (S3P Handbook 2017-8 p1) of their allocated topics. Some lectures are scholarly, 'His talk is littered with references. He speaks easily, without notes' (Fieldnote 1.10.17) whereas others suffer from inaccuracies, 'The slide has a high number of typing errors, including a misspelling of the author's name' (Fieldnote 30.1.17). The response from the trainees is often one of passivity, the large space providing a cloak of anonymity, 'Students look somewhat disinterested – the lecture hall is packed and hot and the air conditioning is disturbingly loud.' (Fieldnote 18.9.17)

Lectures are followed by seminars in mixed subject groups, where discussion is both encouraged and expected. Although the provision of such reflective opportunities here and in the subject sessions is recognised and valued, ('*they make sure that you never forget why you've become a teacher……they keep the teaching at the heart of it'* Rachel Int3:12.6.18), the necessarily generic nature of the programme is also a source of frustration, '*I could have used, at times a little less philosophising and more just practical advice'* (Peter Int3: 7.6.18).

6.1.3 Theory and practice

'They can give you all the theory in the world but it won't work in your school.'
(Rachel: 31.10.17).

The English PGCE course aims to address aspects of the 'field of English teaching' (English PGCE Handbook 2017-18 p4). Subject knowledge is referenced in the Handbook's introduction[9] and session titles imply an element of instruction in the contextual and theoretical framing of English teaching, including topics such as

[8] '*At the heart of every community lies a school and at the heart of every school are the teachers. No matter how well organised or detailed the curriculum, how grand or well-resourced the building, what really matters most in a child's education is the quality of the teaching. The challenge for the nation is to maintain a supply of outstanding teachers so that every child has the opportunity to be taught by inspirational, skilled teachers throughout their time in school.'*
Andrew Carter, OBE: DfE 2015 Carter Review of Initial Teacher Training London

[9] 'Sessions in college will focus on introducing you to ways in which you can practically apply and extend your subject knowledge in order to become effective teachers of English' (English PGCE Handbook 2017-18 p17-18 p1)

'Models of English', 'History of English Teaching' and 'The Importance of Vygotsky.' An extensive reading list of over one hundred texts includes several written by the course tutors, most notably the identified 'course reader' that trainees are encouraged to purchase prior to the start of the course.

Prefaced with an apology ('*I'm sorry for the didactic style – it's not what we usually do or what I expect to see from you'*), English tutor David's exploration of the Rise of English is instructional in style and highlights a general lack of knowledge around the History of English teaching among the gathered trainees. There is a political element to his delivery, '*I find it staggering that you can be an education minister without any real knowledge of education'* – David 25.9.17'. Comments such as this are never met with any dissent from the trainees, but do not go unnoticed, *'…not just following what the Government want. It's a very liberal view of this profession.*' (Rachel Int3: 12.6.18)

Despite the claim in the PGCE handbook that 'time in college will enable you to explore your ideas of what makes for effective English teaching p3,' a common vision of the nature of teachers and teaching is prevalent amongst the English staff team. Creativity and collaboration are foregrounded ('*Schools that are run by mathematicians can be problematic for English teachers who are all floaty rather than logical'* – Maria 17.10.19*)* and a preference for mixed ability teaching is apparent in comments from all three of the Central tutors. Fiona has never taught anything but mixed ability in her 27 years of teaching, visibly rolling her eyes at a trainee's reference to a '*nurture group'* in her placement school, '*It's a learning group, well it should be, not a dumping ground*.' Similar conviction is evident around the promotion of formative assessment over summative practices, both in English sessions and in the cross-subject seminars, 'Maria is asked if it is the opinion that formative assessment is better, and she is definite in her reply, '*It's not just the opinion, it's a quantifiable fact*.' (Fieldnote S3P 27.11.17). Guest speakers have a more pragmatic approach, encouraging the trainees to work with the systems that are in the schools rather than bemoaning arrangements outside of their control, *'One of the things you will learn in education is there is no such thing as standard'* (Guest speaker Fieldnote 27.11.17).

There is a strong emphasis on theoretical ideas and pedagogical models in English sessions during the autumn term. Vygotsky and Kolb loom large (*'I'm just trying to*

get you to get your head in the same space and place as Vygotsky' David*),* although his repeated references do not seem to result in embedded knowledge in the group,

> 'David moves on to his final topic for today, the Zone of Proximal Development. *'Someone remind me what it is – someone knows'* he asks. Silence. After a minute, Suzanne shows some vague awareness; the others look blank. David has referred to this several times in previous sessions…' (Fieldnote 17.10.17).

Maria is more practical in her exploration of Kolb, engaging the group in '*active experimentation'* of the elements of the learning cycle. By the end of the 90-minute session, there is confusion as Maria seeks explanations, 'There is a prolonged silence, finally punctuated by Claire, who prefaces her attempt with the apology that it is a '*stab in the dark.*' Her response is lengthy and shows only a partial understanding.' (Fieldnote 17.10.17).

There is an overtly practical element to the English course in the form of 'micro-teaching'. These six short teaching sessions focus on poetry and grammar, prepared by the trainees in small groups and delivered to the English cohort; an approximation of the practice that might take place in schools. This departure from the tutor-led approach causes apprehension, '*There is a sense of urgency – not only is it their slot today, but they are the first group to perform'* (Fieldnote 25.9.17). Although there are other opportunities for trainee led presentations, the teaching focus of these sessions is a challenge, both for those delivering and their audience,

> 'Marianne kicks off the teaching session, asking the 'class' for examples of an adjective to fit the sentence on the board ('*I bought this ___ dress'*). Her voice is patronising and a little desperate. The group play along, there is laughter but also some grandstanding' (Fieldnote 25.9.17).

6.2 Identity

This section on issues of identity begins with an exploration of the personal biography of the three English participants. They are identified by their pseudonyms, Rachel, Zahra and Peter.

6.2.1 Personal biography

Rachel

> *'I'm originally Greek-Cypriot and I grew up in the West London area. I went to a normal state school, very regular. I've always wanted to teach. I don't know what it is. Even my grandma, when I was little, she used to always say to me, "She doesn't stop talking, she wants to teach." I used to sit there, because she was illiterate. So, I used to sit there trying to get her to do the words. But yes, I always loved teaching. I just always wanted to do it.'* (Int1: 25.9.17).

Community is at the heart of Rachel's narrative. The importance and influence of her family permeate all interviews and she is motivated by a desire to help others, *'I like working with people, I like to help people, feel like I'm making a difference'* (Int1: 25.9.17). Her decision to enter teaching stems from a commitment to empowering youngsters; in her initial interview she speaks of education as a route out of disadvantage, '*I think it's really great to be able to help children or young people find their voices at that age and find where they're going'* (Int1: 25.9.17). Prior to applying for the PGCE course, Rachel had spent three years working as a teaching assistant in the English department of an inner-city school in the Midlands ('*probably the most incredible experience of my life'*), a time that had cemented her decision to pursue teaching as a career. Her recollections of the period focus on emotional encounters, *'I'd go to bed and I could imagine the children in my head. Like, I saw their faces…'* rather than on English teaching, although later discussions in her placement school reveal her concerns for the marginalisation of English by the strategic management of examination success, '*I felt like I'm walking around school and there's such a loss a love of a subject.'* (Int3: 12.6.18).

Role models impact significantly on Rachel's motivation and development. She speaks with enthusiasm about her own English teachers (*'There are so many I could name. They were just brilliant. They were just proper teachers'* Int1: 25.9.17) and is equally as vociferous in her praise of the university staff and her school-based mentors. Although she exudes confidence and joie de vivre ('her enthusiasm is infectious' Fieldnote 13.11.17), her incessant talking shrouds a sense of insecurity. She is quick to highlight her own weaknesses, referring to a sense of '*imposter syndrome'* in the classroom. Despite demonstrating a sound grasp of English as a subject in discussion, Rachel sees the PGCE year as offering her the means to develop further, particularly expressing doubts around the security of her own grammatical knowledge. She sets

herself very high standards, although by February she is becoming more pragmatic, *'I think I've realised it's better to be adaptable rather than perfect'* (Int 2: 8.2.18).

Zahra

> *'In our family it's very important that we give back to our community. My dad's brought us up with those principles. He would teach Bengali and Arabic at the local youth centre and then he would take me along and I would just sit in the corner and be like, I've already learnt this at home. He would tell me to help with the younger kids with their activities, like their homework. So I would sit - I did that for like - oh god, I think I was 13 until I was 18-19. Sort of continuous. I fell in love with it.'* (Int1: 2.10.17).

Zahra made the decision to apply for the PGCE course late in the academic year, completing her interview in August. She chose to remain at her undergraduate university, familiar territory close to her home and family, with the security of a good reputation (*'I know that I've actually come from a good institution…coming from there it makes you in a way - not a better teacher but just gives you more credit.*' Int1: 2.10.17). Like Rachel, Zahra is motivated by a sense of social responsibility and a desire to give back to her local community, '*Where I come from, we're not the most privileged…I just felt that I had to do my part because I had gone to a very good school'* (Int1:2.10.17). She has ambitions to be an engaging English teacher, a contrast from her own experience of English classrooms dominated by monotonous reading aloud. It was in the history classroom that she found her inspiration and began her PGCE with hopes of emulating her past teacher, '*There was so much passion, enthusiasm and you honestly felt like, oh my god, he cares so much.*' (Int1:2.10.17).

Measurable success is important to Zahra, both for herself and her students,

> *'I want my students to do well. That's the core of what I want to do. I want them to succeed. I want them to be successful. I want myself to be successful in teaching them'* (Int1: 2.10.17).

In her initial interview, she speaks of her intention to master '*methods and approaches'* that work well and highlights the importance of discipline. By the end of the year, her focus has moved away from teaching towards an emphasis on learning and the need for teachers to demonstrate their belief in students. Always reflective, she is open about her own preconceptions, *'I was just very naïve as to how difficult it was going to be, just how intense it was going to be as well'* (Int3: 1.6.18). Her first

school placement is not a positive experience. The mixed inner-city catchment offers a stark contrast from her own schooling in a single sex, academic environment, '*there's a lot of students who just sit back, do nothing unless you come and approach them one to one...there's so many kids in the classroom'* (Int2: 2.10.17) and the ethos of the school sits in opposition to her own ideals. Despite a wholly contrasting second placement and a successful appointment to a welcoming English department, she ends the course with doubts as to whether she will stay in teaching, '*Sometimes I feel like I'm quite young as well and I don't know if there are other things that I possibly might want to explore.'* (Int3: 1.6.18).

Peter

> *'I originally got the idea to teach roughly about a year and a half ago…A good friend of mine, my best mate actually, his mum is a teacher and used to teach me. She did careers and all that kind of thing. So I asked her which is the best route - was it School Direct? PGCE? There's that other one when you're trained on the job. For me PGCE was just the one really, a mix of classroom time and - well uni time, classroom time with a degree at the end really. I'm not sure what School Direct gets you.'* (Int1: 3.10.17).

Like Zahra, Peter entered the PGCE course straight after completing his first degree. Graduating from a nearby university, he was impressed by the reputation of Central *('It's got the contacts, opens doors')* and was committed to enrolling, even if that meant deferring for a year. Location is important to Peter and he was eager to continue studying in an urban environment, '*I wanted to be in a big city because I'm from quite a small town and I wanted to see what life there was all about.'* (Int1: 3.10.17). He sees the teaching of English as offering opportunities for overseas employment as well as fulfilling his own passion for the subject. By the end of the year, this subject focus is less apparent, with his comments addressing his desire to have '*clear expectations for each pupil'* whilst remaining '*friendly and approachable'* (Int3:7.6.18).

Of all the participants, Peter proved the most enthusiastic about taking part in the research and relished the opportunity to discuss his progress and share his opinions. He speaks enthusiastically about the influence that teachers have had on his own development, both in and outside of school, *'I always had teachers that I've looked up to and respected'* (Int1: 3.10.17). He is equally positive about his tutors at Central University and his school mentors, but questions whether the balance between

theoretical input and practical advice is correct, *'I think parts of it do philosophise a little bit too much'* (Int3:7.6.18). He has moments of doubt during the year, but is ultimately positive about his career choice, *'I was walking to work and I thought I actually love teaching and it put me in a really good mood for the day.'* (Int3: 7.6.18).

6.2.2 The student teacher duality

> *'You are all here both as learners yourself and teachers which is part of what this course is all about.'* (Maria – first English PGCE session: 18.9.17).

The trainees' world is not without its conflicts. They are both students and teachers; learning to teach whilst teaching others how to learn. In the Central University site, the student identity is evident from the outset. Although there are some mature trainees, the demographic of the research site is younger than the other two and the start of the course is reminiscent of the start of a school term, 'There are many pristine notebooks on display and several of the girls also have co-ordinating pencil cases' (Fieldnote 18.9.17). There is some formality in attire in the first session, but this quickly disappears, 'Dress is uniformly more casual than yesterday. Many of the girls' jeans are ripped. They look younger' (Fieldnote 19.9.17). The similarity with the classroom environment is also evident in the relative status of the course tutors who are positioned as experts, distanced from the trainees by both age and perceived wisdom. This separation continues after the trainees begin their first school placements, with a return to the university environment prompting enactment of student identities,

> 'Annie enters, takes her seat and dons a set of sparkly black devil horns. Course tutor Maria doesn't react. Cathryn arrives late. There are no more chairs and I give her mine so that she can join a group. She looks flustered and sits down, removing her coat to reveal a cat onesie – an outfit that is in stark contrast to her obviously distracted state. Maria looks on with incredulity. '*You don't do Hallowe'en?'* asks Evie. '*Not really*,' replies Maria. '*I might do a festive jumper nearer Christmas*.' Evie laughs, '*I guess we can get away with it.*' Maria moves away.' (Fieldnote 31.10.17).

This characteristic extends to external sessions delivered outside of the university environment. During a drama workshop at a local theatre, the departure of their Central tutor during the session immediately impacts on trainee behaviours, 'they regress to school children – the noise level escalating. '*And that's the playground,'* shouts the workshop leader over the noise' (Fieldnote 10.10.17). Visiting speakers to the university also encounter student-esque behaviours, on one occasion prompting a

'teacher' rebuke, 'As she is speaking, her eye catches Edward's laptop screen and she adopts a 'teacher' stance, *'If you would rather do your assignment you can do it somewhere else -I don't mind.*' He looks embarrassed and there is an awkward pause.' (Fieldnote 22.1.18). The youthfulness of the trainees is perpetuated by the attitudes adopted towards them by the Central University staff, particularly evident in the cross-subject lectures, where latecomers are chastised as errant school children and material is delivered with limited expectation of prior knowledge. One lecture stands out as different, 'The tone of this lecture is academic and more formal than most of what has taken place on the course so far – he addresses them as educated adults rather than as students, the link between theory and practice more implied than explicit' (Fieldnote 1.10.17). However, a subsequent conversation with two English trainees reveals disquiet at this approach, as they struggle to see the direct links with their position in schools, '*'It was more about all the things we can't do rather than what we can.'* Annie. She has never observed a lesson and craved practical advice on to how to do it.' (Fieldnote 3.10.17).

For Rachel, the university environment of the PGCE course is a bridging point, *'I came out of uni, and obviously this was a nice sort of in-between between becoming an adult - I know I'm an adult - but really being an adult and being a student'* (Int2: 8.2.18). She is a keen participator in university-based sessions, with discussions noticeably curtailed when she is absent. Her recollections of her own schooling are positive ('*It was great, secondary school was good'* Int1:25.9.17) and in the university class, she quickly reverts to her former role, 'Rachel has her hand up, her transformation into school student complete' (Fieldnote 31.10.17). Although she speaks of an awareness of the need for professional distance in school ('*I think I knew from a long time ago you're not here to be their friend you're going to have sometimes have to be like a parent, firm but fair'* Int3: 1.6.18), this is not always enacted. The blurring of the boundary between student and teacher is particularly evident in her second placement when she engages in sixth form teaching, as demonstrated in the following fieldnote recorded during a lesson observation,

> 'Rachel is talking to [a male student] about the email that he sent her with his essay attached. '*The email has the title, 'I hope you like this''* she says, loud enough for the whole class to hear. '*Do you know how dodgy that looked? Sir was standing behind me when it came in.'* This is typical of her approach with this class – she seems to move between teacher and student, particularly around

> the boys. The studious girls in the room get less of her attention.' (Fieldnote 12.6.18).

Rachel's need for positive feedback is strong and she seeks affirmation from those around her, including during the research interviews, *'I hope that I'm a good teacher, I hope I'm doing the job right, I hope I'm doing good'* (Int3: 1.6.18). Despite her success on the PGCE course and in her placement schools, at the end of the year there is still much in Rachel's demeanour and language that reflects the student identity. In referencing how much she has '*grown'* in her practice she also alludes to her age, suggesting that she is yet to cross her bridge between the student and adult world, '*I think I actually need to grow in age a little bit as well and become a bit more mature - not that I'm not mature but I think I need to get some years of experience under my belt*.' (Int3: 1.6.18).

Zahra can appear similar to Rachel in the training environment, '…they work together, spending most of the time in uncontrollable giggles' (Fieldnote 10.10.17). At other times, she remains almost aloof, contributing little to discussions unless questioned directly. She explores her feelings about taking on the teacher mantle in her final interview,

> *'you're thrown in now and it was completely oh uni is finished, that was your last day of uni, a proper full day, and now it's your placement. That was scary and it was a shock…It's so strange to go in and say, okay, yes. I'm going to teach now. Everyone look at me, I know what I'm doing. That was really hard'* (Int3:1.6.18).

Images of survival are reoccurring, with her sense of being '*thrown in'* later linked to '*being in the deep end*.' She is comfortable in the university from the outset, returning to the same campus as her undergraduate study, and speaks of a sense of belonging. When she encounters difficulties on her first placement, it is a lack of inclusion that seems to affect her the most, '*I didn't feel included in the department as well. They would have meetings and they wouldn't even tell me about it'* (Int3: 1.6.18). Her desire for acceptance is linked to a need to be taken seriously as a professional,

> *'Even though you're a trainee teacher, it's nice to feel like okay I'm respected as a teacher as well and not to have the PGCE label badge that I had walking around. It makes you feel just as if like you're not a proper teacher.'* (Int3:1.6.18).

Peter shares this view. In his first placement, he encounters School Direct candidates linked to a different provider and muses on the difference that he sees in both their perspective and reception at the school,

> *'They're coming at it from an employee of the school first, student second. Whereas PGCE is student first - or it seems anyway - we're not even employees, but a trainee in a way, second - or a teacher, second.*' (Int2:8.1.18).

He continues to grapple with the student/teacher dichotomy throughout both of his school placements. Whilst having his mentor in the room is an annoyance during his first placement ('*Sometimes it does feel a bit like babysitting. It's a legal requirement but I also think it sometimes affects my confidence actually'* Int2: 8.1.18), by the second placement it has become a source of frustration. He is concerned about how the students perceive him, as revealed in his comment following his second lesson observation, *'I told a few that I work for Central, not a student, I work for Central, I'm also a teacher and they seem to accept that…I want to just be - I want it to be my class'* (22.3.18)

By the end of the year, his language has crystallised as he reflects on his sense of exclusion, *'I didn't want to be treated like I was special but a bit - I don't know, treated a bit like an other, an outsider almost.*' (Int3:7.6.18). The notion of '*other'* captures some of the identity issues inherent in the training year; trainees are neither students nor teachers but inhabit the liminal world between the two. For Peter, recognition as a 'proper teacher' is paramount, '*I thank him as he walks me to the school reception, saying that he looks very at home in the classroom, more so than at college. He beams.*' (5.12.17).

6.2.3 Teacher identity

The first two weeks of the PGCE course are spent entirely in the university setting, allowing time for discussion and reflection. In an early English session, Maria presents the English trainees with a set of statements about English teaching. They work in small groups to rank them,

> 'Maria questions Brandon on his group's decision to place statement 1 about preparing for adult needs at the top, *'Is that really the type of English teacher you want to be?'*. It has changed by the time they give their feedback. '*I think*

> *it is important to have your ideology at least for a couple of weeks'* she says to me as she leaves the room.' (Fieldnote 19.9.17).

Her comment is indicative of the view of English teaching that is presented by all three English tutors. The concept of personal growth is central, with frequent references to social learning and the power of mixed ability collaboration. The trainees respond to this with enthusiasm but as the end of the first school placement approaches, discussions in the group focus on practicalities and problems,

> 'Marianne is moaning to Claire because she has been given mock exams to mark for Year 11. '*I just don't get the levels. It's top set – and I've had to give someone a level* 2.' Claire is outraged, '*It's a joke. You shouldn't be doing that*.' (Fieldnote 20.11.17).

At the start of the course, all three participants have clear ideas about the type of teacher that they want to be. For Rachel, it is personal. She speaks passionately about her love for the film 'Freedom Writers' (2007), which depicts how a young teacher inspires her class of at-risk students. She wants to be the saviour, to 'make a difference' to the lives of those in her care, '*Like, "This teacher really gets me. I can rely on this teacher." You might not, it might just be a show, but just showing that you are there to help them'* (Int1:25.9.17). This idealism is still there by the end of the year but is couched in more considered terms, '*I want to be able to help them in other ways, like pastoral ways, not just academically but I have also learned that you have to be firm because they are children'* (Int3: 12.6.18). Zahra is more concerned about the way in which her lessons are delivered, with a preference for discussion and exploration. She is compliant in the strict authoritarian environments of her first placement but never complicit, criticising her own performance following a lesson observation, *'It was very sort of teacher, I stand at the front, you sit there, you listen to me. I knew as I was teaching, I was just oh God…*'(Int2:2.10.17) By the end of the year, she has consolidated her thinking, her comment recalling her concerns about being the isolated expert at the front of the class,

> *'A lot of teachers, I feel like oh, they just - they sit at the desk or away from the children, and I like being involved in the class. It's very much we're learning together rather than I am teaching you.'* (Int3:1.6.18).

All three speak of the need for noise in their classrooms (*'They're a bit chatty but I like chatter anyway…it reflects them learning and interacting'* Rachel Int2: 8.2.18),

as modelled by both Maria and David in their PGCE sessions. Peter notes a link between discussions and some behavioural issues, but is quick to equate this with his status, '*That's to be expected though right – I'm only training.'* (22.3.18). His approach to teaching as a career is pragmatic, something that he feels he could '*get interested in'* (Int1: 11.10.17) and his language becomes more practice orientated as the year progresses.

6.3 Navigating the course and people

6.3.1 Making progress

> 'The trainees stand proudly by the completed display. Maria smiles, and keeps smiling throughout the session. They are keen to point out the contributions from their placements, ('*so I got a poetic response'*; '*poster about Lord of the Flies'*; '*profile of JB Priestley'*). Juliette is very animated, '*And Brandon wrote a very good poem'* she giggles. Brandon then reads out his acrostic poem. It isn't great, but he enjoys the performance and is obviously proud of his efforts. Maria keeps smiling as she looks over the display, '*And who made the scrunchy flowers? It is very good*.' The display includes their 'teacher names', with an interesting mix of Ms and Miss from the girls.' (Fieldnote 19.6.18).

In their final session, the English trainees are tasked with documenting their year in the form of a wall display, which will form the backdrop for the incoming trainees in September. The cyclic nature of the PGCE provision at Central University is captured in this practical activity; they had been greeted with a similar display from the previous cohort on their arrival in September. The progression from student to teacher is represented as complete; 'teacher' names replacing the first names of the initial register. Peter is convinced of the linearity of his training journey, '*it's very clear, a very clear trajectory'.* (Int3: 7.6.18*)* Initially, he questions the relevance of some of the university sessions and is happier once he takes up his placement in a school, *'I think you can understand theory better if you've had practice in it rather than the other way around. I am getting that practice. I am learning and improving'* (Int2: 8.1.18). Here, he equates improvement with classroom management, his lessons driven by a desire to accurately cover the prescribed content whilst maintaining a tight focus on control. He seems to see talking as synonymous with disruption, although in observed lessons he manages class discussion effectively. By his final interview, he is confident that he has made progress*, 'it took me a little while to get everything together.*

Behaviour, AFL, all those things in a productive lesson, it took me a while, it was juggling a lot. But I think that's definitely been developed, I clearly see that.' (Int3: 7.6.18). What is absent from Peter's later reflections is his subject enthusiasm. Initial idealism ('*I've got a passion definitely for English'* Int1:3.10.17) is replaced with a more mechanistic approach to teaching. The year is presented as a sequence of hurdles and he anticipates the final stage, '*I'm looking forward to finishing the NQT now and being fully qualified. I see it as a bit of a probationary period.'* (Int3: 7.6.18).

Zahra shares Peter's concerns about behaviour management, apparent in her first assignment in which she chooses to focus on the school's behavioural policy,

> *'Through managing the classroom, the teacher creates an environment that is conducive to learning however, the teacher must practice disciplinary strategies where necessary to keep students engaged.'* (SER[10] extract).

She finds herself adopting such strategies in her first placement, frustrated by what she perceives as unhelpful advice from her school-based mentor ('*It was just like 'you need to be a lot more stricter, you're too soft, you need to project your voice''* Int3:1.6.18). The experience is intense and challenging, '*I just had to get on with it as well. That's part of it, just being in the deep end.'* (Int3:1.6.18). Positive change comes for Zahra with the move to the second school placement. In an environment where she feels valued, she has the agency and mental capacity to draw on her prior learning in the university setting. It is the context rather than the accruing of experience that impacts most keenly on her development. Without the change she may not have completed the year,

> *'Actually, towards my first placement, there was a point where I didn't want to continue anymore. I actually thought I can't do this. I don't even enjoy being in the classroom. It was so bad and I was just like I don't - I realised that was the school experience and not overall teaching when I got into my second placement.'* (Int3: 1.6.18).

Unlike Peter and Zahra, Rachel came to the PGCE with some experience ('*I think actually because I'd already done some work in some schools before, the first placement was almost like a consolidation'* Int3: 12.6.18). She is happy in both of her placements ('*I've been lucky, both schools are very good schools, lovely department'*

[10] SER: School Experience Report

Int3: 12.6.18) but describes the year as '*insane'*, noting how much she has learned. Although she begins the year with the intention of working with disadvantaged students, she accepts a job at her first placement school, a high performing Academy in a leafy suburb. She justifies her decision without prompting, a topic that she returns to on numerous occasions,

> *'Before I can go into a disadvantaged setting, I think I owe it to those students to actually be able to work in a school like this where I practice getting children - not practice but I actually get children through, for example, a set of GCSEs; learn the syllabuses more, learn the exam style, learn - even for my own sake - learning how to balance my marking'* (Int2: 8.2.18).

Progression for Rachel is most notable in these changes of approach and outlook. She maintains her desire to make a difference but her belief that 'everything depends on the teacher' softens over the course of the year as the students become more central in her thinking, *'I think it was David said you're not teaching, remember it's 'what do I want them to learn not what do I want to teach them?''* (Int3:12.6.18).

6.3.2 Subject knowledge

> '*Someone tell me who Leavis is.*' There is no response – most look down although Oscar looks directly at David. '*I can feel him spinning in his grave'* comments David, before adding, '*He is the Godfather of English in universities.*' '*I swear they mention him in Bridget Jones'* says Rachel.' (Fieldnote 25.9.17).

The English PGCE programme at Central University addresses a range of topics related to the teaching of English. All trainees have met the entrance requirement of a bachelor's degree with at least 2:1 honours, higher than the 2:2 required by the other two providers. Subject sessions are structured to ensure coverage of both content and pedagogy, as highlighted in the PGCE English Handbook which invites trainees to 'think of each session as twin-track.' p4. Despite the stringent entrance requirements, there is often a lack of subject knowledge on display in English sessions, 'One of the activities is based on '*The Lady of Shallot'* but very few of them are familiar with the poem' (Fieldnote 30.10.17). Gaps in knowledge are particularly apparent in the session on post-16 teaching led by a visiting Head of English. There is some consternation in the room at her description of the depth of textual insight she sees as necessary for A level teaching, ''*You have to know the texts better than them, like*

forensically?' asks Jan. *'Oh my goodness yes, that's that holidays are for'* she replies, walking away' (Fieldnote 22.1.18). This lack of awareness also extends to recent reforms to the examination system,

> ''*Justine Greening said last year that a 4 was a pass and a 5 was a good pass – not sure what will be the case for this year.*' There is incredulity in the room, and a surprising lack of knowledge about all of this given that they are already teaching in schools that are delivering on these specifications.' (Fieldnote 22.1.18).

Zahra is conscious of the limitations inherent in her decision to specialise in post-colonial literature at undergraduate level, *'I kind of stayed away from the classics which I kind of regret thinking I want to be an English teacher'* (Int1: 2.10.17). She worries about preparing resources and is grateful for the opportunity to plan a scheme of work in groups as part of the English course. Her diligence is apparent in her written assignments, completed on time and with a scholarly tone. However, her reflections at the end of the year highlight a frustration with the intrusion of academic work on her teaching preparation,

> *'the group assignment that we did, the policy one, I don't really remember what that was about as well. I just blank that out…the SSA*[11] *was a lot of - it was more beneficial I would say. The S3P*[12] *I felt it was a bit tedious…It was just as I was having to teach, that was quite a lot as well*.' (Int3:1.6.18).

She is uncharacteristically critical of the course structure on this point, suggesting that two of the assignments should be merged together to make one piece of coursework *'because it's all on public policy*.' Peter echoes some of the same frustrations, but acknowledges the influence of context, *'I found SER - I think possibly because of the school, but very, very stressful'* (Int3: 7.6.18). He enjoyed researching English as an additional language for an assignment, making links between the theoretical models and practice in schools, '*It's very transferable, very interesting.'* However, he is more questioning about the content of some of the English sessions,

> *'We looked at an entire afternoon on teaching, what was it, creative writing? Where that is important, definitely. I mean English is - you're studying text that was creative writing for someone. But spending so much time on it, maybe not so much. I don't know if that's necessarily worth it'* (Int2: 8.1.18).

[11] SSA: Subject Studies assignment
[12] S3P: Studying Policy and Professional Practice assignment

In his planning, he has a preference for poetry (*'it's quite short, you can spend a lot of time picking it apart and if pupils don't like it, it's different almost every other lesson variation there for everyone'* Int3:7.6.18) and the use of multimedia, where he can draw on his knowledge of Film from his degree.

Like many of the English trainees, Rachel harbours concerns around her grammatical knowledge,

> *'I'll be honest, I'm not one of the stronger candidates for the grammar and the language, so I'm glad that we had those sheets*[13] *where it got us to really think about our strengths and weaknesses.'* (Int1:25.9.17).

In his session on grammar, course tutor David addresses such concerns, predicting that the teaching of formal grammar in schools will change over time. Despite his reassurances, ('*Don't be wedded to it, don't ignore it but don't be freaked out by it'* Fieldnote 3.10.17), there is a sense of unease as he talks through the Year 6 curriculum, '*I feel that I'll never be able to teach this – I don't know it myself* – Claire.' Rachel sees the academic assignments as beneficial in terms of her developing practice, '*I think it was good because I think it reminded me what it's like to be a student and how my students must feel'* (Int3:12.6.18) but shares Zahra's disquiet at the sense of distraction, '*Part of me, although they are helpful, part of me does feel like just let me teach; because I just want to teach.*' (Int2: 8.2.18). As the year progresses, Rachel talks less about her desire to work with disadvantaged students and more about English. She bemoans the 'exam factory' mentality that she sees in some of the practice in her second placement,

> *'I felt like I'm walking around school and there's such a loss a love of a subject…I walk around and think are students really loving English? I remember falling in love and I want students to love the subject'* (Int3: 12.6.18).

She remains the idealist, hopeful of empowering those in her care. This optimism is present in the school setting but also in university classes, '*'Even if I can't do it myself, if I can harness someone else's potential, isn't that the point?'* (Fieldnote 2.10.17).

[13] Subject Knowledge Audit (see Appendix H)

6.3.3 Working relationships

> '*It is different. It's different in some ways because Maria is obviously detached from my school but she's my Uni go to. Whereas my personal mentor, she's the teacher of the other class, the Year 9s. The relationship I have with them is different. With Maria it feels like a student/teacher relationship in a way or a student/lecturer relationship. Then with my mentors it feels more like a professional work environment relationship to an extent.*' (Peter Int2: 8.1.18).

Relationships matter. During the year, the Central trainees navigate professional relationships with both their university-based tutors and their mentors in schools. The recruitment interviews are conducted by the Central tutors and a sense of loyalty for the first point of contact is apparent; Rachel talks about an '*affinity'* with Maria whereas Zahra has a preference for David*, 'I had him as my interviewer I just have that kind of relationship. I feel like he knows more about me.'* (Int1: 2.10.17). Although all the participants are quick to acknowledge the support that they receive from their university tutors, there is also an acceptance of the dominance of the school mentor presence once their placements begin, '*Maria in my case have been very helpful when I've needed her, but she's not - obviously I don't have a lot of contact when it's just teaching'* (Peter Int3:7.6.18). For Rachel, the relationship with both of her mentors proves to be positive, particularly in her second placement where she feels that the advice that she receives is timely and focused, '*I always say that part of the reason that I've been able to progress so much and do so well is because of him.*' (Int2:8.2.18). However, her first placement also reveals some gentle conflict, 'Rachel talks about Year 9, '*When I first went in, Oh My God, they weren't getting anything done.'* They are usually taught by her mentor, '*He's very chilled*.' (Fieldnote 7.12.17). Rachel's teaching style in an observation of this Year 9 class is far from 'chilled' as she rattles through a variety of tasks at speed, highlighted by Maria in the feedback, '*Your success criteria were a little busy – you gave them no time to acknowledge them and write them down.'* (7.12.17). In a short time, however, she has instilled a sense of purpose and activity in her mentor's class which has resulted in improved levels of attention and engagement. The pathway for Zahra is less straightforward, demonstrating the relevance of context in the formation of professional relationships. The challenges that she faces in her first placement are exacerbated by a lack of respect for her mentor, who she sees as offering little constructive support, *'it was kind of like oh, your behaviour management, your behaviour management, your behaviour management and it wasn't anything to do with pedagogy or how do I teach this…'*

(Int3: 1.6.18). Her experience in her second placement is a marked contrast, evident during a lesson observation in her second school,

> 'Zahra's mentor is in the room but leaves as we arrive to give her '*space to work without too many observers.*' Zahra is delighted about this arrangement and has found it a welcome change from her last placement, '*I love that they trust me – it has been like it since week two.'* (Fieldnote 26.3.18).

Trust is a vital part of the trainee-mentor relationship and the area that Peter finds the most problematic. Although both of his mentors are supportive, there are some unresolved issues during a lesson observation conducted in his first school,

> 'For the second time in the lesson, a member of staff comes in and takes a female student out, returning with her shortly afterwards whereby they stand and look out of the window together at something before she is told to retake her seat. It is very distracting for the other students and Peter is not consulted at any point in the process.' (Fieldnote 5.12.17).

This treatment of Peter as something less than a teacher may not be intentional, but hints at attitudes towards trainees that are ingrained in the school and, as such, self-fulfilling. As the year progresses, Peter grows increasingly frustrated by the constant presence of the class teacher in his classroom, a requirement of the course overlooked for both Rachel and Zahra in their second placements. Despite recognising that he still has much to learn, he is resentful of the constant feedback on his teaching, '*It's starting to bother me a bit having had someone in every lesson, seeing them writing notes on - and then always being told, okay you need to do this.'* (22.3.18).

6.4 Struggle

The training year is intense. The university sessions pass by quickly ('*The PGCE goes at a break-neck speed. We did Speaking and Listening on Friday and that's done now.'* David 2.10.17) but not without challenge. Many find the explanations of theoretical models difficult to grasp and although the tutors are supportive, there is also an expectation of some academic rigour, '*PGCE is a Master's Level course so you do need to engage with some of the underlying ideas.'* (David 17.10.17). Rachel is characteristically positive about most aspects of her training, but singles out one area for criticism, '*the only thing I remember that was not useful was the behaviour management lecture. Then I don't really know how you teach someone to behaviour*

manage in a lecture.' (Int3: 12.6.18). She talks about how she supplemented the university provision in this area with her own reading, referencing a book by a well-known blogger on education that was recommended by a teacher in her department. Her manner is almost apologetic; this is clearly a text that she sees as being different from the philosophy of the Central University course. Peter struggles with classroom management at times throughout the year, '*It can be frustrating, like my Year 7s right now actually, they're so - just disruptive, it's hard to see my practice because I spend so much time with behavioural management'* (Int2: 8.1.18). This view of classroom control as a discrete entity that impacts on his 'practice' is still evident at the end of the course. He is quietly critical of the university provision, '*I could have used a little bit more on behaviour, probably - yeah behaviour being the most important one. More practical based sessions really.'* (Int3: 7.6.18), his reflections focusing more on external inputs than his own agency. For Zahra, who entered the year wanting to learn about 'discipline', behaviour management sits firmly in the school domain. The university role is clearly defined and separate, '*They teach you the theory and that's the application. I don't see how else they can hold your hand*' (Int3:1.6.18).

Once away from the relative shelter of the university environment, the reality of teaching in schools causes challenges for all the participants at times during the year. The most notable is Zahra, whose negative experiences in her first placement impact on her demeanour and confidence, as illustrated in the following extract from a vignette written from fieldnotes taken during a school visit,

> 'The smart interior of the school offers a stark contrast to the dilapidation of its surroundings. Zahra meets me at Reception, and we make our way through the labyrinth of corridors to the staff area, housed behind a coded door. It is quiet and although there are lessons going on, there appears to be little conversation taking place in classrooms. The students are immaculate in their uniform. Zahra looks flustered. Her photocopying is not ready, and she has run out of time to sort it. She leads me to the classroom, where her mentor is already seated. There is some banter between some of the boys but otherwise the students enter quietly and obey as Zahra directs them to record the title and date into their books and complete the first task, a reflection on aspects of the poem that they studied yesterday. Her voice is flat and monosyllabic; she looks uncomfortable.' (Vignette extract 18.1.18).

In her reflections, she is damning of her school mentor ('*she's incompetent'*) but also critical of Central, '*from a uni perspective I don't feel like they did - they didn't try to contact Head of English or anything. I did raise concerns, but I just kind of like oh,*

it's whatever, it is what it is. I don't know. I don't feel as much support as I would have liked, especially because I - yeah, it was difficult' Int3:1.6.18). She feels that she has upheld her side of the bargain, attending all sessions and completing all paperwork, and feels let down.

For Rachel and Peter, keeping abreast of the administrative side of the PGCE causes difficulties. Rachel is generally assured in the classroom but fails to produce all the required lesson plans. Peter produces lesson plans but struggles to collate the necessary evidence for his folder, seeing the task as a distraction from the business of teaching. Notably, both Peter and Zahra speak of their concerns around data management in their NQT year having been shielded from the pressures of reporting by a lack of access to SIMS – the central management information system in deployed schools. Matters of data protection inhibit this access for trainees, but in so doing, schools also affirm their trainee status and perhaps hide some of the administrative realities of the teacher role.

6.4.1 Tensions in the training

> *'no matter how much theory they give you, it can only help so much. I really do feel that with teaching. I'm not saying I'm an expert, but I do feel you have to just feel it out once you're in the class.'* Rachel (Int2:8.2.18).

All three of the research sites require trainees to navigate between the provider and the schools, but the sense of separation between the two locations is most acute at Central. Discussions in the university English sessions focus on theory and pedagogy whereas the emphasis in some schools is more on the collation of their assessment portfolio. The polarisation of school and university is particularly evident with Peter, apparent during a visit to his first placement, 'He looks very different, dressed in a suit and tie. He looks at home in this environment and is proud to show me around.' (Fieldnote 5.12.17). In the university environment, he is invariably deferential and non-committal in his contributions, '*They could do a piece of creative writin' I guess'* - his accent much more pronounced than when I saw him in school.' (Fieldnote 8.2.18). Once in school, he appears more confident and is pleased when the university sessions reduce, '*Being here five days a week I feel much more involved'* (Int3:7.6.18).

Elsewhere contrasts are less extreme, characterised by a more practical and homogenous approach in the schools than that enacted in the university training room.

One specific example that reoccurs is in the use of scaffolding techniques for writing. All of the placement schools deploy a variation of the 'Point, Evidence, Explain' approach to paragraphing, identified by the PEE acronym. Maria is vociferous in her lack of regard for such inhibiting structures, but the trainees are less inclined to accept her views without question once they have been out into schools,

> 'Maria picks up on the PEE reference again and Evie questions what they should do if their school is promoting its use. '*My advice would be don't do it'* says Maria. She refers to one of David's previous students and he reluctantly joins the conversation, describing how an excellent lesson had been destroyed by the addition of a decontextualized PEE paragraph activity at the end, *'It's part of a ridiculous culture that says that there has to be a written task'.* Evie is still not convinced, '*Can it be OK that there is no formal written outcome?*' Maria says that it is, but she pushes it, '*Does it count if they write on post-its?'* Maria is adamant, '*You don't have to have a formal disconnected paragraph!'* Things have suddenly become a little tense.' (Fieldnote 13.11.17).

The trainees are caught between the philosophical stance of the university and the practical strategies employed in the schools to raise achievement en masse. It would take a very principled trainee to actively move against the routines of their departments; Zahra ends up outwardly adopting the approach of the school resulting in personal angst. Rachel is more self-confident, defending her inclusion of a PEE structure to Maria following her observation, *'I just want fluency with writing, I don't mind how they do it.'* (7.12.17). The PEE example is indicative of the tensions between the two worlds, challenging trainees and resulting in a sense of betrayal for the course tutors, 'Maria is fuming at Rebecca's inclusion of PEE in the session on suspense writing that revolved around literary devices. '*I don't know why they do it. Why don't they listen to me?'* (Fieldnote 13.11.17).

6.5 Conceiving and reconceiving the future

> '*Although I don't want to stop being a teacher I can very easily understand why someone who's spent three years dedicating themselves to education and they're getting a degree and working hard, would look at this and think do you know what I like the kids but I'm not dealing with the rest of this bureaucracy and the pressures and stuff. I understand that feeling*.' (Rachel Int3: 12.6.18).

All three participants exit their training year with an acute awareness of the challenges of life in the teaching profession. In his first placement, Peter is shocked by the levels of stress that he observes, *'People I saw were literally working themselves sick,*

getting in at like six, leaving at seven, and they live about an hour away' (Int3:7.6.18), and even though he eventually secures a job at a school that he feels will support him, it is late in the year before he feels confident enough to look beyond the training year, '*I think I didn't feel ready at all, that's why I wasn't applying earlier.'* (Int3:7.6.18). Zahra's struggles in her first placement cause her to re-examine her career options. She attributes her change of heart solely to her second placement, *'It's all completely changed. I think I really owe it to that school*' (Int3:1.6.18), but also remains uncertain as to whether she will stay in teaching indefinitely. Although she refers to the NQT year as '*starting from scratch'*, she acknowledges the relevance of the university-based learning,

> '*Even things that I read for my assignment, I was actually - I surprised myself. I was just like I can actually use this in the classroom and things like redrafting planning, editing and using my writing styles, that really came through for me*.' (Int3: 1.6.18).

Rachel shares this view, reflecting on the impact of the university sessions on writing schemes of work, '*Actually it really helped a lot looking back at it. It taught us, it taught me how to think for the long-term.'* (In3: 12.6.18). Peter is less certain, critical of the lack of 'practical sessions' but ultimately convinced that he selected the right training route, '*I would definitely choose PGCE, yeah. I've enjoyed it so much, it's been a great community, meeting everyone at the start and then going in gradually.'* (Int3:7.6.18).

Rachel's decision to accept a job in her first placement school marks a departure from her original intentions. Wedded to notions of social justice and supporting the 'disadvantaged', she experiences feelings of guilt and self-betrayal. She struggles to justify taking a position in a '*middle class la-di-da school'* (12.6.18), turning to her mother for affirmation,

> *'I've realised - I've had this conversation with my mum actually - that working in a school that is an outstanding school, seeing academic excellences and seeing what it's like to push children, it helps you become an actual good teacher'* (Int2:8.2.18).

The reality of the performative culture where schools are '*treating the exam like a game'* has proved difficult for her to accept and the desire to 'make a difference' is still acute in her final interview,

> *'I want it to be not only just I love reading a book but what can I take from it morally, I kind of want to mould my students into good, greater people as well, not just pass the exam'* (Int3:12.6.18).

Ultimately, she sees herself as potentially leaving mainstream education to work with people '*at risk'*, either in England or in her native Cyprus.

6.6 Conclusion

The findings from Central University illuminate the first research question, 'How do trainee secondary teachers learn to teach in different postgraduate teacher training settings?', emphasising the conflicts and contradictions experienced during the training process. At the end of the 'roller coaster year'[14] the English cohort gather back in the university for the assessment of their PGCE folders. Outwardly, there are changes ('They look older, hair styles clipped and make-up subdued') but there is also an association with the environment,

> 'It is interesting to note how they quickly revert back to their student selves, taking the same seats, although there is less of the giggling that had characterised previous sessions. The atmosphere is a little 'demob happy', the course is coming to an end and most have jobs.' (Fieldnote 1.6.18).

This observation epitomises the duality of the Central University training experience. The trainees have navigated their way between the university and school settings, responding positively to the feelings of community and belonging but encountering conflicting views on teaching and learning.

In response to the second research question, 'How do the teacher identities of trainee secondary teachers develop over the course of their training year?', the findings show both the pains and the internal debates that have been experienced as the trainees find their place in the teaching world. All three participants end the course with a job and a sense of direction ('*I'm actually coming out with a really positive outlook and it's completely changed in the last few months, which I didn't think it would.'* Zahra Int3:1.6.18), but it is debatable as to whether a closer alignment of university and school life could have lessened their trials along the way.

[14] 'Welcome to the English PGCE. You are about to embark on the roller coaster year of initial teaching training. It will undoubtedly contain some highs with the accompanying lows. Our task, along with your school mentors, is to guide you as painlessly and productively as possible through this process.' (PGCE English Handbook 2017-18) p3

Chapter 7: Maple Alliance

7.1 The training landscape

> 'Combining the best in online and face-to-face learning, we're helping schools and school staff all over the world to be the best they can be' Prospectus p4.

Maple Alliance offers an alternative route into teaching. Supported by a global institution, the School Direct programme is advertised as a 'unique opportunity' for trainees to work alongside professionals in schools, with teaching 'supplemented by high quality online learning sessions written by practising teachers and academics from the world of education.' (Prospectus p4). Despite the presence of a global brand, delivery of the ITT programme is at local level via a Teaching School Alliance, formed between three Outstanding schools in the area. The schools offer training, tailored school-to-school support and professional development. The lead school manages the teacher training programme, with placements secured in one of the 26 partnership schools. Most applicants are from the local area; in the words of Assistant Headteacher and ITT co-ordinator Julie, it is a case of '*us choosing the trainees and the trainees choosing us*.' (27.3.17). Much time is invested in potential trainees, particularly by ITT administrator Samantha, who ensures that applicants receive regular contact. This personal approach invariably proves successful, with trainees investing in the Alliance at an emotional level, *'she was so helpful, that after I got this place, I didn't take any more interviews or anything like that'* (Laura 17.10.17).

There is an expectation that successful trainees will gain employment within the partnership, although this statement in the prospectus carries the asterisked caveat, '*Employment in your School Direct partnership is not guaranteed*'. p15. Badged as a 'blended programme', this training route balances time in schools with online material and face-to-face sessions. Trainees have personal support from the Teaching School Alliance, their school-based mentor and from a Pathway Tutor appointed by the external institution. Virtual support is provided for the online elements, '*if you've got any problems there's instant access - you can message the support team'* (Emily Int3:18.5.18). Training is offered at both primary and secondary phase, with the PGCE as an option that most choose to take ('*It's not much more. I did look at the price and I was like, "Oh, it's worth it, isn't it, really?'* Lisa 3.11.17). Although there is a spread

of ages in the cohort, there are more mature trainees than in the university-based research site.

7.1.1 Face-to-face training

> 'Trainees are signing in as I arrive at Reception. It is a lengthy process as each must enter various information into the touch screen to generate their security badge. It is a glorious September afternoon and some of them look quite hot and flustered. The school is eerily quiet – it is an INSET day following last night's Open Evening and at 2pm there are few staff left onsite.' (Fieldnote Learning Circle 22.9.17).

Learning Circles take place on Friday afternoons, with trainees gathering in one of the partnership schools for cross subject sessions. When there is no session scheduled, trainees are expected to remain in their host school, using the time for reflections, assignments and online learning. The generic content of the sessions allows for input from all trainees and the atmosphere is relaxed, although this can cause some frustrations,

> '*You get lots of them talking - we've got some of the older people who are on the course and they love a good anecdote and you're thinking oh it's Friday at three o'clock, come on, no one needs to hear every single thing that's happened in your class today.*' (Laura Int2: 12.12.17).

Two sessions during the year are delivered by the local ITT administrator and representative of the global institution. She is clear in her brief, '*We want you to emerge from our training programme as the best teachers you can possibly be'* she says, adding *'These sessions for me are all about joining the dots of our courses.*' (Fieldnote 2.2.18). In reality, these sessions feel very similar to those delivered by the Teaching School Alliance, but with the addition of a branded logo on the PowerPoint. Specific subject input is largely covered through the online portal, with just three face-to-face workshop sessions scheduled during the year, designed to tackle the more challenging aspects of subject delivery. For English these are identified as Grammar, Poetry and Teaching Shakespeare and are delivered by an ex-teacher at the lead school, now working as a Pathway Tutor. This provision for English presents a challenge as there is only one trainee registered for 2017-18 ('Course leader Julie is keen to emphasise that this is only possible because of the online learning – she doesn't have to have a cohort in a room.' Fieldnote 27.3.17). The English workshop sessions are, therefore, supplemented with three unqualified teachers following an Assessment

Only[15] route and an officer at Children's Support Services, recently appointed as English Lead for the Alternative Education group and in need of a refresher course.

7.1.2 Online provision

Throughout the programme, trainees participate in online learning via an 'innovative and interactive e-learning platform' (Prospectus p12). The password protected site comprises pages on Professional Studies (with topics including safeguarding, EAL and behaviour management), Subject Studies and QTS evidence as well as mechanisms for uploading documents such as training plans, timetables and observations. Audits of subject knowledge and behaviour management are required, along with the weekly completion of a learning diary. Material related to the PGCE is collated under a separate tab and trainees can also access links to the provider's library, Google Scholar, Wiley and the accrediting university. Online tasks (labelled 'on demand learning') are to be completed on a weekly basis and saved to the portal, where the Pathway Tutor can check and add comments. Feedback on PGCE assignment drafts is available via the external institution, but few take up this offer, '*I just thought no, I'm going to just go with it on my own*.' (Emily Int3: 18.5.18). Marks are released centrally following moderation; ITT administrator Gillian is keen to share the successes, 'She had spent the morning at the London office looking at the first assignments. She says that the moderated assignments show the full range, *'The top end are as good as those at a university*.' (Fieldnote 2.2.18).

The online element provides an interesting perspective, '*it sort of puts everything into context'* (Emily Int2: 13.12.17) but also adds another element and subsequent source of anxiety to what is already a busy year,

> *'Then you've got these on demand sessions, then you've got these learning circles, then you've got this assignment going on in the back of your mind, and then any training back here. So it's a lot and it's full on.'* (Laura Int2:12.12.17).

Although access to the portal was never denied during the research process, gaining the necessary log-in details proved to be problematic. As such, an overview of the

[15] 'The assessment only route to qualified teacher status (QTS) allows teachers to demonstrate that they already meet all the QTS standards, without the need for any further training. Teachers need to present detailed evidence and their teaching is assessed in a school by an accredited and approved provider.' https://www.gov.uk/government/publications/the-assessment-only-route-to-qts

portal was provided by English trainee Emily. ITT co-ordinator Julie does not have access to the portal as she is not a student on the programme, which adds an interesting dimension to issues of quality assurance and programme coherence.

7.1.3 Theory and practice

> 'You have selected a hands-on route into teaching where you will be immersed in the culture and ethos of your main placement school and quickly become involved in the life of the school and its pupils. This is immensely rewarding as you experience a school year and all that it brings.'
>
> Welcome from ITT Programme Director, School Direct Trainee Handbook p4.

An emphasis on the practice of teaching resonates in all aspects of this programme. Trainees have made a conscious decision to embark on school-led preparation ('*just constantly being in a school from day one, being accountable, getting on the job*' Lisa 3.11.17), with a view to gaining employment close to home. Teaching is seen as a *'practical subject'* (Laura 8.6.18) and practice is foregrounded in the global institution prospectus, where the outcomes of the programme are described as, 'Practical teaching skills, ideas and activities to use in the classroom' p15. This is further accentuated in the School Direct Trainee Handbook, 'Trainees are continuously asked to consider the application of what they learn in the taught Programme to their school settings' p12. In the face-to-face sessions, the emphasis is on practical inventiveness, exemplified by an early Learning Circle session on the use of technology in the classroom, delivered by a Geography teacher from the lead school. He shares various practical IT applications, including Class Tools[16] and Google classroom[17], speaking with authority and humour, '*If it's not an app, it's not worth doing if you're a kid'* (22.9.17). His interactive demonstration of Plickers[18], a rapid-response classroom-polling app, causes much excitement, 'there is instant regression – suddenly this is a room of school children vying for the correct answer, '*I love this'; 'This is awesome'; 'It wouldn't work for me though'; 'Nah, nah, nah, this is a scam cos I said A and it's not coming up.*'' (Fieldnote 22.9.17). Although there is some reticence from the more mature trainees, his explanation of the use of a visualiser for live marking is well received,

[16] http://www.classtools.net/
[17] https://edu.google.com/intl/en-GB/products/classroom/?modal_active=none
[18] https://get.plickers.com/

> ‘They all discuss different applications for the visualiser, this simpler technology seems to have captured everyone, ‘*I reckon I could actually use this’* comments an older trainee. I learn later that she is returning to teaching after 20 years away and is terrified of using technology in the classroom.’ (Fieldnote 22.9.17).

Save for a fleeting reference to Bloom’s Taxonomy, the session is wholly practical in nature and designed to provide the gathered trainees with takeaway teaching strategies. Course leader Julie is present throughout and ends the afternoon advising them to focus on what element of technology works for them, ‘‘*This is a game of self-preservation’* she comments, adding *‘Just do one thing – and practice it first. When the class are sitting there – that’s when it gets more stressy.’* There are knowing nods around the room’ (Fieldnote 22.9.17).

A later Learning Circle session addresses the requirements of the second PGCE assignment and is delivered by Gillian, ITT administrator and link to the global institution. Although this is ostensibly more theoretical in nature, it is grounded in the practicalities of the assignment, ‘her first slide addresses housekeeping issues, including the use of Harvard referencing and double spacing’ (Fieldnote 2.2.18). Trainees are invited to discuss how pupils’ subject knowledge develops over time, but conversations are largely anecdotal, drawing on the experience of the first placement. In the feedback, there is some reference to supporting research, but with limited criticality,

> ‘Gillian cites the ‘Inside the Black Box’ series as seminal…She asks how many of them have read the subject pamphlets and about half the room raise their hand. ‘*What did you think? I think they’re brilliant’* she says.’ (Fieldnote 2.2.18).

Her further questioning on engagement with literature proves fruitless, ‘They all look blank, ‘*Do a subject search on OpenAthens’* she says but offers no more explanation.’ There is an implication in the session that subject-based knowledge develops over time and Gillian is quick to counter the lack of response from the discussion task, drawing in ITT co-ordinator Julie,

> ‘‘*What do you reckon Julie – how long did it take you to get to grips with subject development in your area?*’ ‘*About 10 years’* replies Julie without hesitation, adding, ‘*Is that the right answer?*’ Gillian agrees. *‘It takes a long time and I’ve only given you 10 minutes.*’ (Fieldnote 2.2.18).

Three 2-hour subject specific sessions are designed to tackle the more challenging aspects of subject delivery. A new addition to the programme, these sessions have been provided in response to feedback from last year's trainees who wanted some face-to-face subject content to supplement the online training. In her session on Teaching Shakespeare, English tutor Vanessa is keen to cover as much material as possible in the limited time, '*I'm sorry to rush but I want to give you some practical strategies*.' (10.10.17). Her emphasis is on making the texts accessible and relies heavily on resources from the Royal Shakespeare Company. She talks through a range of approaches, including the use of film and image galleries, offering practical tips, '*Whatever resources you do, laminate them.'* The inclusion of a hot seating activity causes some anxiety, but the session is generally well received, *'I did Macbeth last term. Wish I'd had this sooner and then I would have made a better job of it.'* (Assessment Only candidate 10.10.17). The focus in these workshop sessions is on the dissemination of resources and ideas from the experienced teacher. The emphasis is on teaching rather than learning and there is limited opportunity for personal reflection. The practical nature of the session outcomes is epitomised in the following exchange between Maple Alliance English trainee Emily and the workshop leader,

> 'Emily lingers behind and asks Vanessa if she would be willing to share some resources, handing her a USB stick that they had been asked to bring to the session. Vanessa is immediately obliging and with Emily's technical help, copies her huge file of resources onto her memory stick. '*Use whatever you like, just don't publish it on TES and say that it is yours. That has happened before'* she comments. Emily looks horrified; she would never do such a thing. Vanessa's generosity here is notable; 30 years of resources have just been handed over without hesitation.' (Vignette extract 10.10.17).

A further dimension to the programme is provided through the compulsory online tasks. The Subject Knowledge for Teaching component considers subject specific teaching, learning and assessment whilst the Professional Studies component 'explores the generic educational and professional issues that have a bearing on the work of teachers' (School Direct Trainee Handbook p15). The integrated nature of the programme design is highlighted in the handbook,

> 'It is important that trainees are fully aware of the cohesion between theory and practice on the Programme. The taught Programme and the School Placement are structured to complement each other and provide maximum opportunities for development of trainees' skills, knowledge and understanding. The taught content focuses on the exploration of theory and the

> School Placement focuses on the implementation of theory, ideas and strategies through practice.' School Direct Trainee Handbook p12.

The densely populated online portal houses many presentations on an array of topics, with weekly tasks set to develop the trainees' understanding of the Teachers' Standards for QTS, '*We have a training plan and the Teachers' Standards for each week are, kind of like, "These are the ones we want to focus on." The online stuff focuses on them…'* Lisa 3.11.17). This framing via the Standards is similar to the identification of high leverage practices; presented in the form of required knowledge that must be evidenced. The Subject Knowledge pages for English address broad topics including 'Literacy', 'Assessment for Learning' and 'Differentiation' alongside more specific areas such as 'A Level English Language'. Despite the stated emphasis on theoretical exploration, closer examination of the material highlights a tendency towards instructional techniques and generic scaffolding. The 'Teaching Poetry' presentation begins with the statement that '*There are a number of techniques that increase students' understanding and enjoyment of poetry'* and proceeds to detail the SET acronym (Situation, Emotion, Technique), described as '*a way of helping students visualise and empathise which, in turn, helps them analyse*.' This is followed by illustration of the '5 thinking steps' (Patterns, Association, Interrogation, Hypothesis, Alternatives) and the claim that '*by following this order, students can uncover implied issues and themes in poetry and prose on their own*.' This same process appears again in the 'A-level English Literature: An Overview' presentation, accompanied by the explanation that '*the 5 Thinking Steps go beyond simple associations to deeper readings*.' On each occasion, the frameworks are presented without reference to supporting literature or cognitive processes. The emphasis on practical strategies is welcomed by English trainee Emily,

> *'I've really particularly enjoyed the English sections as well just because it's really supported what I already knew, but it's also encouraged me with new ideas and things of how to actually teach it. Because obviously I've got that subject knowledge, it's just now trying to actually teach that'* (Emily Int3: 18.5.18).

She enjoys having the time to complete the tasks ('*So I come in here – school - on a Friday - and I just sit in my room and I do all my online stuff*' 18.5.18) but is unquestioning in her response to the material, describing the online sessions as '*all fantastic'* (17.11.17). Science trainee Laura is more critical in her approach and by

the end of the year is quite resentful of the time spent completing online tasks, '*I could be spending those five hours planning some really good lessons or researching or reading my own books'* (8.6.18). Unlike Emily, she questions the topic selection, particularly for Professional Studies, apparent in her reference to the British values presentation, *'you feel like they're just putting it in there to put it in there and you know that these have no weighting against your course as well.'* (Int3:8.6.18). Her comment highlights the significance of the performative nature of the year, indicative of her tendency to prioritise the assessed content but also suggestive of a more critical stance than that adopted by Emily.

7.2 Identity

As with the other two sites, observations of the whole cohort took place during the research period. For the named participants, it was necessary to move beyond the English subject provision as there was only one secondary English trainee on the programme in 2017-18. She is identified here as Emily and is joined by Laura (Science), Lisa (Geography) and Tina (MFL). As in the previous chapters, this section on issues of identity begins with an exploration of their personal biography.

7.2.1 Personal biography

Emily

> *'I used to have a sit down with my friends and have a chat about 'Pride and Prejudice' over a cup of tea. They were like, you've got such a drive and a passion for it, have you ever considered teaching. I was like, yeah, it's been something in the back of my mind. Because so many people had told me, oh, you should be a teacher, it - I wanted to challenge them a little bit, and be like, no, that's not the only thing I can do. I can do something else if I want to. I'm not going to be dictated.'* (Emily Int1: 3.11.17).

Despite a desire to defy social expectations, Emily did initially pursue a career in schools, *'I finished uni. I was looking at doing - going into teaching. I applied for Teach First and I got rejected. It knocked me back.'* (Int1: 3.11.17). For Emily, this rejection was her first taste of academic failure and she retreated from teaching, securing a job in retail which was to quickly prove unsatisfying, '*I found it very boring. I got really down about things. Then I was like, no, I'm going to start. I wanted to do teaching.'* (Int1: 3.11.17). After six months, she left her job, gained a position as a

cover supervisor in her old secondary school and began researching alternative routes into teaching. Although she considered university ITT programmes, she is ultimately dismissive '*I was like, that's not really what I want to do. It's a little bit too research based. It's not direct. I just felt like it would be better for me to build my character in a school, rather than do all the lectures and things.*' (Int1: 3.11.17) and is attracted by the proximity of Maple Alliance to home.

Emily enjoyed the experience of working back at her old school and this served as further impetus for her decision to teach. She speaks passionately about the relational aspect of the job, a sense of pride evident in her rhetoric,

> *'I think it's really rewarding to see kids that have those little lightbulb moments, and when they're getting it right, and they're so eager to show you what they're doing. I think that's what makes it all the worthwhile and keeps me going with it.'* (Int1: 3.11.17).

She sees her own interest in English stemming from her own schooling, '*I absolutely loved some of my English teachers here*' and is visibly pleased to return to the same environment. Initial reticence over her lack of confidence is overcome ('*They did have a little bit of doubt with me…They've changed their mind completely now'*) and Emily ends the year having been appointed to a permanent position in the English department.

Laura

> *'I wasn't the best student. I wasn't naughty, I just wasn't clever, or I didn't apply myself…Then when I got into Year 7, something just clicked for me. The teachers, some of them were amazing. I went to one of my teacher's weddings, you know, and I just absolutely had the best time, and I came with some really, really good grades, which I don't think I personally would have had if it wasn't for some of those teachers that made it.'* (Int 1: 17.10.17).

Laura is relentlessly enthusiastic about her own schooling. She has '*always wanted to be a teacher'* and sees the relationship with the staff during her secondary school years as the catalyst for her later career aspirations. Initially applying to train as a Physical Education teacher, Laura experiences a sequence of rejections, her non-traditional sports of sailing and skiing failing to secure her a place in a very competitive environment. It is only when she approaches Maple Alliance that she considers a change of subject, working with the ITT Administrator to find a way forward, *"You*

want to do science, but you've not even done a biology A-Level." So I was, like, "Fair enough." So I just taught myself biology A-Level and took that in June this year.' (Int1: 17.10.17). She is convinced that the School Direct route is right for her, dismissing the idea of university-led training, '*Personally, myself, I don't really see how you can learn to be a teacher when you're in a lecture hall. I know you do have placements and everything like that, but I thought this is the best way to do it, spending the whole time in a school.'* (Int1: 17.10.17). Her enthusiasm for school-led provision does not extend to all providers and she is keen to promote the benefits of the School Direct route,

> *'I didn't want to do Teach First mainly because of the stresses I think it puts you under. I know all teacher training is going to be stressful, but I mean, we've got a Teach First girl here and she's starting off with a 80% timetable, she doesn't have what I feel I have. So I've got the time to reflect on my practice, I've got the time to plan during the school day'* (Int1: 17.10.17).

At the start of the year, Laura is already reflective about the nature of teachers and teaching. She speaks of wishing to establish a good rapport with her students whilst maintaining '*professional barriers.'* Ultimately, she sees her role as transformative, role-modelled on her own positive experiences of school, '*I wanted to try and make a difference like my teachers had done.'* She has high expectations, aiming to complete the year as an outstanding teacher. In her first interview, he speaks of the challenges of the course so far but has no doubts about her career decision, '*I just know that this is exactly what I wanted to do and I'm happy…it feels like I've been waiting for it for a long time.'* (Laura 12.12.17)

Tina

> *'I've always, kind of, liked education. It's something that I've personally enjoyed throughout my life and I enjoyed studying at university and things like that. However, it's not something I always found easy, because I'm dyslexic and I struggled with that. I wanted to give back and that's, kind of, how I ended up here, because it's a school that has pupils that struggle a little bit. That is what drew me into it and that's what I hope to achieve, is to help those students realise their full potential.'* (Int1: 3.11.17).

Tina struggled at school. Her motivation to teach seems to be rooted in a desire to offer an alternative to her own experience, countering '*sometimes teachers give up on you'* with *'I wanted to be those teachers that push you through it.'* (3.11.17). She had

conducted work experience in her placement school (‘*they’re lovely kids’*), which prompted her to seek a School Direct place there. As with Laura, the personal contact from the ITT administrator at Maple Alliance was pivotal in cementing her decision to apply, attracted by the practice-based orientation,

> ‘*I felt like practice is better than theory. Obviously, theory is really important but you can only read a book so many times, and I think it’s better to be in the classroom learning from experience. I think that’s the best way to develop to become a best teacher’* (Tina Int1: 3.11.17).

She finds the online tasks quite burdensome (‘*I do spend probably more than I should on them’*) and is quick to defer to others (‘*she’s a lot better explaining it’*) but is confident in her own abilities and aspires to gain an outstanding judgement at the end of the year. Although she is successful in securing a full time Geography position in the lead school, she worries about the dominance of teaching in her life, viewing her non-teaching family with some envy. At the end of the year, it is uncertain whether she will remain in the profession indefinitely, ‘*I must admit if I do not have a personal time in the next two years, I probably would reconsider my career choice’* (Int3:25.5.18).

Lisa

> ‘*it can’t be easier because it’s hard. I knew when I was coming into this it was going to be stressful, it was going to be intense and it just has to be. By its nature, it has to be.’* (3.11.17).

Tina and Lisa were both placed at the same school and the first interview was conducted jointly. Following this, Lisa experienced health issues and moved her training to part time. Although she was willing to continue as a participant, it was deemed unwise by the ITT co-ordinator and she withdrew from the research. In her one interview, she offers an interesting perspective on the training process and provision. Her undergraduate degree with the Open University had prepared her well for the online nature of the tasks and although she is critical of the website’s organisation, she likes the potential for interaction with others, *‘I think the good thing about it though is actually, it does push you to speak to your other groups, doesn’t it?’* (3.11.17). Lisa is very grounded about the realities of teaching, but even at this early stage there is a suggestion that she may be finding the emotional aspect of the year challenging, ‘*You have to, kind of, enjoy your job a little bit, as stressful as it is. It is stressful, the amount you take on.*’ (3.11.17). She speaks enthusiastically about the

students and her role ('*it's a whole new way of caring about a person, isn't it?*' 3.11.17) but also identifies an inability to 'switch off' at the end of the school day, something that may have contributed to her later difficulties.

7.2.2 Becoming a teacher

The positioning of teaching as a practical vocation is immediately evident at Maple Alliance. Applicants are strongly encouraged to gain classroom experience in a partnership school prior to applying[19] and are required to participate in short teaching episodes as part of the interview process. There is a collective maturity and focus about the cohort when seen en masse, 'The relationships in the room are relaxed and supportive and the engagement levels are high, particularly considering it is a Friday afternoon and they have been in schools all week' (22.9.17) and a willingness to participate, 'The trainees are totally engaged, asking questions throughout' (22.9.17). However, as with the other two sites, there is also a sense of duality. Despite being out in schools from the start of the year, the trainees are also students (*'…it just, kind of, blows my mind every day how much I'm learning.'* Lisa 3.11.17) learning both 'on the job' and from the training provision. This contradictory state is particularly evident with English trainee Emily. In her main placement, she is confident but always deferent to her mentor, '*I feel like I am listening to the feedback I am being given and making improvements.*' (Int2: 13.12.17). In face-to-face training sessions she is much more reserved, taking copious notes and rarely contributing to discussion. Her positioning as a student is apparent during an English workshop, both in her actions and the attitude of trainer Vanessa,

> 'After 6 minutes, Vanessa counts down from 5 to 1 before asking them to finish their sentence and swap with a partner. Emily continues to write, *'See you've got the naughty ones who don't finish at the end of a sentence'* laughs Vanessa and Emily stops, embarrassed.' (Fieldnote 11.5.18).

Away from the training environment, Emily supplements the required online tasks with her own revisions ('*Just so I could feel like I could really understand it I spent a little bit longer writing down some notes.*' Int3: 18.5.18) and works hard to secure the highest marks possible in her assignments. Despite her studious nature, there is little criticality in her approach and she accepts the contents of the online portal without

[19] Offered in affiliation with the DfE https://getintoteaching.education.gov.uk/school-experience

question (‘*it really helps you and some of the people are specialists who talk you through the presentations…’* Int3: 18.5.18). In discussion, she seems to compartmentalise her roles of learner and teacher and although she speaks of enjoying writing the assignments, she looks forward to leaving the training environment behind, *‘I think it'll be nice to just have that time to actually focus on the teaching. Put that time to that. I think that'll be a huge weight off my shoulders’* (Int3: 18.5.18).

The transition from student to teacher is gradual and complex, ‘*I can slowly, each week, see myself becoming a bit more of a grown-up, real-life teacher’* (Laura Int1: 17.10.17). The trainees are initially insecure about their role, evident in Tina’s interactions with students during a walk through her placement school, ‘She is proud of her environment but doesn’t have the gravitas of a teacher’ (Fieldnote 30.11.17). In her final interview, Tina reflects on her first few weeks, linking classroom managements issues with the absence of a secure teacher identity,

> ‘*When I first started obviously I had no idea what I was doing and the kids knew that. They were like, look at this woman. They were like, oh she's an assistant; oh now she's teaching, what's going on? Oh she must be training. They knew, so they took the mick a little’* (Tina Int3: 25.5.18).

She is enthusiastic about the short second placement in the Spring term, seeing it as an opportunity to cement her role as a teacher, ‘*the benefit of doing a new one is I don’t start by observing and so they don’t know that I’m a trainee, whereas these guys knew that I was fresh meat’* (Tina Int2: 30.11.17). The opportunity for this fresh start proved fruitful as she secures a permanent teaching position in her second placement school. Tina is slightly younger than the other Maple Alliance participants, coming into teacher training straight from university. The lack of previous experience in the workplace seems to colour her relationships with staff and although she welcomes inclusion into the department (‘*obviously I'm treated like a team member’* Int3: 25.5.18) she struggles sometimes to seek the assistance that she is entitled to as a trainee,

> *‘I do find sometimes there's not always the time because everyone's really busy and I don't want to bother people with things…I'll be like, can you check this, can you check this, and I feel quite bad because I know everyone's really busy’* (Tina Int3: 25.5.18).

Her need for guidance and mentorship is evident, but she retreats into anonymity with her classes where possible, '*actually I prefer just going in and them not knowing who I was - if that makes sense?'* (Tina Int3: 25.5.18). In contrast, Laura is very comfortable in her placement school ('*I feel so at home here'* Int3: 8.6.18) and her relationship with her fellow workers seems to be more open and equal, '*I really, really like the department here. We get along really well'* (Int2: 12.12.17). Her acceptance as 'part of the team' (Fieldnote 12.12.17) could be attributed to her self-confidence, also apparent in Learning Circles where she often takes a lead, *'In the Science group, Laura is directing discussions – they talk about how children develop Science knowledge.'* (2.2.18).

For Emily, the adoption of the teacher role is problematised further by the fact that she is returning to her own secondary school. There were some initial challenges ('*At the start, it was like, God, this is really weird. I'm talking to teachers that used to teach me'* 3.11.17) but she quickly settled, helped by the familiarity gained from her past as a student and as a cover supervisor, '*I know the place and I know the teachers… I've now got to see them from the other sides.'* She is quick to justify her choice of placement and is delighted to secure a permanent position at the school,

> '*I think maybe - I know some people say, you probably could have gone somewhere else to do it, but I was like, I loved this school. I'd stayed here from - I came here from Year - not Year 11 - from 11. I'd finished when I was 18. I said, I've spent such a huge part of my life here, I'd like to give back in a way.'* (Int1: 3.11.17).

7.3 Navigating the course and people

7.3.1 Making progress?

> *'If I had any advice for me starting at the beginning here, was to be stricter. I was quite lenient at the beginning. I still am a little bit in terms of giving out sanctions, but the advice I'd be giving to myself starting in January, because obviously they're new classes, is the kids aren't going to hate you for telling them off. Be strict, go in strict.'* (Laura Int2: 12.12.17).

Laura's comment above exemplifies a common theme among the participants at Maple Alliance as they reflect on their progress during the year. They are in schools from the first day of the course, uncertain about their own identities as teachers and

how to approach their classes. Laura is not without experience (‘*I've had jobs before this, I mean I'm 25’* Int3: 8.6.18) but feels that her desire to build positive relationships with the students led to some initial softening in her approach. By the end of the year, she is more confident (‘*my behaviour management I think I have quite under the wraps’* Int3: 8.6.18) but is still acutely aware of the progress still to be made, ‘*I'm not ready. But I'm looking forward to it 100 per cent, definitely’* (Int3: 8.6.18). She sees her progression as linear but not complete, *‘So, I feel like I'm still finding myself as a teacher’* and accepts a job in the familiar surroundings of her main placement school to ease the transition into the NQT year.

Tina is similarly self-critical, acknowledging her progress across the year, ‘*my practice has developed completely because I started off with no practice, so a lot has changed’* (Tina Int3: 25.5.18). She muses on the notion of ‘balance’, wishing to maintain both a friendly relationship with her students and an air of authority. In her main placement she finds this difficult and enjoys the opportunity to adopt a more detached approach in the short second placement, where she also secures a permanent position, *‘I had different classes - they haven't seen me before. So as far as they were concerned, I was fully trained, ready to go, and they kind of treated me as such.’* (Int3: 25.5.18). For Tina, it is the elements of teaching that she has not had first-hand experience of that worry her, *‘I'm more apprehensive about my tutor group weirdly* (Int3: 25.5.18). This disquiet over responsibility is also present in her nervousness around data collection and management, which hasn’t been modelled as part of her training.

Speaking prior to her second placement, Emily frames the year as a series of obstacles, ‘*I know there's a lot of hurdles that I still need to get over in terms of the second placement and other assignments as well’* (Int2: 13.12.17). However, she is also very comfortable in her setting and receives positive feedback on her teaching from her mentor and Pathway Tutor. The change in context for the six-week period in the Spring term causes her difficulties and she struggles to maintain her tight classroom discipline. Emily’s experience of school since the age of 11 had been routed in one location and her well-rehearsed strategies prove less effective in a contrasting school. She accounts for this by referencing the short placement time (‘*I felt like because I didn't really know the students that well I wasn't doing them justice*’ Int3: 18.5.18) and is pleased to return ‘*home’* to her host school. By the end of the year, the difficulties

that she experienced seem to be forgotten and she looks forward to the start of the new year, her transition to teacher complete, *'I feel ready now, it's just getting everything finished and I'm excited to be able to have my own classes and start with them right from September'* (Int3: 18.5.18).

7.3.2 Subject knowledge

Subject input at Maple Alliance is largely delivered via the online portal, hosted by the global institution. All trainees have to complete the various 'on demand' sessions and PGCE students submit a 4500-word assignment on 'Developing Expertise in Subject Knowledge for Teaching' assessed at Level 7. Laura is not convinced of the value of this task, '*I just feel a lot of that is waffle. I think maybe if they were shorter, then it would be more beneficial but part of the time I was just literally trying to just get to the word count'* (Int3: 8.6.18), although this may be partially attributed to her own insecurities around her scientific subject knowledge. She prioritises the relational aspects of teaching over subject delivery,

> '*So, for me, building a relationship is one of the first things that I need to do. Then subject knowledge, I'm just kind of trotting along with that, I'm quite confident now up to year 9.'* (Laura Int3: 8.6.18).

Tina is equally insecure in her subject knowledge, concerned about preparing students for examinations for the first time, *'I didn't really know how to introduce them to GCSE because I haven't actually taught with the spec yet.*' (Int2: 30.11.17). In contrast, Emily is unfaltering in her enthusiasm for English (*'I love talking to people about literature and encouraging people to read, and things like that'* Int1:3.11.17) and appears confident in her subject knowledge in the classroom during observations.

The inclusion of the three face-to-face workshops to complement the online subject training is particularly welcomed by Emily who feels a little isolated as the only English trainee. In Learning Circle sessions, she invariably finds herself joining Drama or PE trainees for discussion tasks. Although Emily is always positive about the course, there is a tinge of regret as she comments, '*I think it would have been nice to have had someone going through it at the same time as me to discuss best practice and things'* (Int3: 18.5.18). Once in a room with fellow English teachers, she is actually quite reticent, listening wide-eyed to tales of struggle from the Assessment Only candidates. The workshop on grammar reveals gaps in the subject knowledge of

the gathered group, causing workshop leader Vanessa to note that most English teachers, herself included, were never taught grammar. She tries to make the material accessible ('Vanessa is asked for a definition of a modal verb. '*It's a posh version of would, could, should'* she replies.' 11.5.18) but the discourse remains at a superficial level for much of the session. Emily takes copious notes but there is little in the session to further her knowledge. Reflecting in her in final interview, only a week after the workshop, she highlights the value of school-based support,

> '*in terms of the challenges with teaching the English it's been a little bit more difficult but that's why I've got the team that I'm working with here, so all the English department, they've been really, really helpful with that'* (Int3: 18.5.18).

7.3.3 Working relationships

The nature of the Maple Alliance structure means that trainees have to navigate their way through a variety of professional relationships. They have sessions led by staff from the Teaching School Alliance and the global institution; a Pathway Tutor appointed by the global institution; a school-based mentor; the support of the Alliance's ITT co-ordinator and the virtual presence of the presentation authors on the online platform. As Laura notes, '*I guess in terms of hierarchy, if you want to call it that, you've got me, then my mentor, then you've got my Pathway Tutor, and then you've got [global institution] and Maple*' (17.10.17). Pathway Tutors are externally appointed subject specialists who visit trainees in schools once a term and complete lesson observations, as well as meeting with the mentors to discuss the requirements of the course and the trainees' progress. For Emily, this contact offered useful subject support, '*She encouraged me to sign up to the National Association for the Teachers of English. She encouraged me to go and see plays and performances in The Globe, or by the Royal Shakespeare Company'* (Int1: 3.11.17). Laura sees her Pathway Tutor as more of a trouble-shooter, sorting out issues with her timetable and '*any niggly bits that need to be ironed out'* (12.12.17). Most significantly, she offers Laura advice on managing her online workload, as shown in this extended section from her first interview,

> 'For example, if we've got a subject specific session, it might have five PowerPoints to watch. It then might have extended reading to read. It then might have a YouTube video to watch, and then a task, and then you've got to do your learning diary on it. Luckily, my Pathway tutor has said, "*I don't mind*

> *if you don't do every single task on it, as long as you're studying the presentations and then writing the learning diary. That's fine.*" Because I think she understands that it's a lot of work that's not necessarily needed' (Laura Int1: 17.10.17).

By the summer term, Laura's engagement with the Teaching School Alliance is limited. The Learning Circles reduce but she rarely attends, prioritising the practical support from her school and Pathway tutor.

Despite the input from the Alliance and the global institution, it is the school-based mentor who sees the trainees most frequently and these relationships prove to be a key component of their training experience. Emily receives positive feedback from her mentor Louise, but observations of their interaction in the classroom revealed some issues with ownership of the space,

> 'Emily moves to hand out a sheet with an extract from the novel. Louise immediately springs up and does it for her – she is more involved in the lesson than other mentors that I have observed. This is her classroom and she is possessive of it.' (Fieldnote 13.12.17).

Even at this early stage, Emily is a proficient teacher and has earned the respect of the students in the room. She has secured a permanent position at the school, and her mentor will be her line manager. These factors complicate the relationship, highlighting issues of power and hierarchy, evident in a brief courtesy exchange with the mentor at the end of the lesson observation, 'I make a positive comment about Emily and she is immediately defensive, '*Yes, she is good, but she was a cover teacher here last year and she has picked up some bad habits. She is improving though.*' (Fieldnote 13.12.17). When she encounters challenging behaviours from the students in her second placement, Emily finds support in the English Department, '*the team there were really supportive and helped me straight away*' (Emily Int3: 18.5.18) but is less forthcoming about her appointed mentor, a senior manager with limited time. Laura has a similar experience, but is more vocal,

> *'I don't have the best support from my mentor from here. The rest of the department's absolutely perfect, but my mentor I don't, so I've missed out on quite a lot of mentor meetings and lesson observations because of that…for me, the kind of idea that the mentor - for me, the mentor kind of faded out.'* (Int3: 8.6.18).

For Laura, the department workroom becomes her mentor space, as she gathers advice and ideas from the Science staff from her position as part of the team.

Tina is unfazed by the presence of her mentor in her classroom (‘*To be fair I kind of forget she’s there most of the time’* Int2: 30.11.17) but encounters difficulty when she is expected to teach lessons planned by her, apparent during a lesson observation. She struggles to deliver from someone else’s plan whilst they remain in the room, ‘*It’s not what I would have chosen to be honest.’* (30.11.17). Unexpected staff absences in the department during the summer term result in Tina having to take her classes alone for much of the time, causing her to reflect on the nature if the relationship,

> ‘*when you have your mentor at the back, they're really the ones that teach the class and you're kind of doing it for a little bit, and then they chip in. I'm by myself which sometimes I'm like, okay that's not good in terms of I don't get any feedback, but then also it makes me more responsible, and I feel like that class is my class.’* (Int3: 25.5.18).

Tina really enjoys her second placement in the Teaching School Alliance’s host school, not least because she feels the support is more readily available, ‘*I could ask people a bit more and not feel guilty’* (25.5.18). Her mentor is the Head of Faculty and ‘*really experienced’* and it is no co-incidence that Tina accepts a job in what she sees as a wholly supportive environment.

7.4 Struggle

> ‘A boy at the front asks Tina, ‘*How do you become a teacher?*’ which she answers with ‘*That’s a question for another day*.’ (Fieldnote 30.11.17)

Becoming a teacher is difficult. Trainees encounter challenging classes, academic pressures and varying levels of financial support. For both Laura and Emily, the change in context during the six-week placement away from their main school proves a source of struggle. Emily is characteristically measured in her reflection,

> *‘It was different, eye-opening I think and it - having that different environment helped me because the school I went to was a school of social deprivation it was a high number of it and the students there could be quite - sometimes weren't the best behaved.’* (Int3: 18.5.18).

When recalling how the experience felt, there is an emotive element to her language, *‘nerve-wracking, absolutely nerve-wracking…initially I was a little bit terrified…’ (18.5.18),* but she is quick to compose herself, adding that the length of time was insufficient, *‘I mean I was eager to get back here just because I didn't feel like those six weeks gave me enough time to really get know the students enough, and I felt like it was a disservice to them really.’* (Int3: 18.5.18). Having already secured her job at

her main placement, it is difficult for Emily to fully engage with the contrasting placement. However, although she found the conduct of some of the classes difficult, she welcomed the opportunity to hone her behaviour management skills and she enjoyed the support of the English team '*it boosted my confidence to know that actually I can do it'* (18.5.18). Laura's experience proved to be more negative, despite taking up her placement in an Outstanding school with a more affluent catchment area than her main placement, '*I was expecting to have really good behaviour, to have kids that are really wanting to learn, all this and that, and I just felt that the behaviour at that other school was 10 times worse*' (Int3:8.6.18). Most significantly, she feels unsupported by the other members of the Science team and is quite angry as she recalls her feelings of failure,

> '*the class teachers, that I felt, you're literally not doing anything to help me. Like, you know this class, and you can see I'm struggling up here, and they're like, well, they're always like this. So I'm like, well, how do you teach them?*' (Int3: 8.6.18).

In contrast, Tina flourishes in her second placement (the same school as Laura, but in a different department). She welcomes the time away from the staffing issues in her main placement ('*We're a bit understaffed because we've got a long-term sick, so I have found that sometimes it is difficult because we are quite pressured'* Int3: 25.5.18) and is reluctant to return at the end of the six weeks.

Tina's anxieties centre on issues of classroom management. She draws on combative imagery as she describes how she uses her seating plan to address challenging behaviour, '*I kind of isolate, it's like a warfare, so you have a naughty kid with loads of good kids around them'* (30.11.17). In her final interview, she returns to the concept of 'balance' as she talks about her classes,

> '*They were like, oh but she's friendly and yeah we can have a joke, but there's also a time for listening and I think to get that balance was quite difficult to start off with. I think some kids still do struggle with knowing that line.'* (Int3: 25.5.18).

She also continues to struggle with her own work-life balance, musing on the lack of free time she has compared with her family and bemoaning having to write-up the action research ('*you're just doing it for the sake of the grade aren't you?*' 25.5.18). Laura also finds it difficult to schedule the assignment writing ('*So to begin with I thought oh if I do 275 words a day it'll be fine, and now it's gone up to something like*

oh you've got to do 465 words a day' Int2:12.12.17) and quickly falls behind with her 'on demand' online sessions. There is a perception of the assignments as being something separate from the practice of teaching and although they do both complete the required work, it is with some reluctance.

7.4.1 Negotiating tensions

The significance of the main placement school in the lives of the participants is apparent in all interactions. They are welcomed into departmental teams and are expected to adhere to the accepted rules and routines of the school. Simultaneously, they are developing their own practice and learning from the course inputs, both online and in Learning Circles and workshop sessions. There are moments of tension, evident in Laura's observed lesson as she introduces her own strategies,

> 'Laura asks them to shout out the answer to the first question and there is a muted response. One of the boys in front of me is not happy with this change in protocol and mutters under his breath, '*Don't shout out – hands up.*'' (Fieldnote 12.12.17).

Similarly, Emily finds herself running out of time in her lesson as she is required to begin with silent reading for the first ten minutes, an established class routine. As trainees, they do not have sufficient agency to work beyond the school practices and this can also lead to a lack of criticality. For example, Tina is accepting of the school approach to lesson structure and sees her unintentional deviation from it as the cause of some low-level disruption in her class,

> '*We have our starter, we have our plenary, and then we have three main tasks within there. So they come in, they have a starter. Because they didn't have a starter today, so it was all a bit of a manic start this morning'* (Int2: 30.11.17).

She also equates the limited response to questions with her failing to use her usual reward strategy, '*I give out raffle tickets, I think some of them when they were answering, they were looking at me: where's my raffle ticket?'* (30.11.17) rather than reflecting on the closed nature of her questions. There is little in the face-to-face training to challenge the practical strategies adopted by the schools but as they encounter new contexts, it can prove difficult for the trainees to adapt to new routines. The move to a new environment is unsettling ('*you've just had Christmas and you're like now I've got to go to a brand-new school, meet the new people, new classes'* Emily Int3: 18.5.18) and although the Teaching School Alliance try to address

apprehensions, their efforts are not appreciated by everybody as evident in the following extended extract from Laura's second interview,

> *'Last Learning Circle we were talking about second placement and I felt personally it was very, very negative. No one wants to go to their second placement really because obviously you get all comfy here. It just felt very negative and I was just like look, we've got to do it, let's stop moaning about it, it's going to be whatever…we had to write out what are the cons of going and what are the pros of going and I was like right, why?'* (Laura Int2: 12.12.17).

The presence of the global institution can also become a source of tension in the course. The methods for assessment and the relating paperwork is provided centrally and arrives in schools with little explanation. Emily's mentor, Louise, is perturbed by an unexplained change to the grading of lesson observations to solely focus on pupil progress. She recounts how she had shared her concerns with the visiting Pathway Tutor but found her to be '*non-committal.'* During the observed lesson, the completion of the form dominates her activity and she spends little time looking at what work the students are producing or Emily's interaction with the class. The focus is on evidence collation rather than the assessment of teaching and learning, ''*It is helpful for Emily's folder,*' she explains as she highlights key phrases in the teacher standards' (Fieldnote 13.12.17). Further disquiet for the trainees is created by the failure of the institution to provide feedback on the first assignment before they begin work on the next one, '*it felt like we were going in blind'* (Emily Int3: 18.5.18). Along with other trainees, Emily seeks support at a local level '*we did forward it to Maple Alliance. We told them we haven't got out assignment feedback yet and Julie [ITT co-ordinator] was like, that's quite disappointing, not really ideal'* (Int3: 18.5.18). Although complaints were apparently passed up the line, the extent of the Teaching School Alliance's influence over the practices of the global institution are questionable, highlighting the potential frictions in having both local and national management within the same training scheme.

7.5 Conceiving and reconceiving the future

> '*I think it's far more rewarding than I expected…I don't think it's actually until you're doing it yourself that you realise how empowering it is.*' (Emily Int3: 18.5.18).

Emily, Laura and Tina all complete the year, securing their PGCE alongside QTS and gaining employment. Emily is very positive about her future career. She looks forward to having '*ownership of the classroom'* and downplays the more negative experiences in her second placement, recalling the support of experienced teachers, '*I felt like I could go to people if I was struggling'* (18.5.18). She is philosophical about the profession as a whole, laughing about her family's misconceptions of teaching as '*really easy.'* Despite this impression, she also references conversations with her father about the national picture for education. There is almost a naivety in her tone, perhaps an indication of parental influence on her perspective,

> *'just in the UK, the behaviour is getting worse and the strategies that used to work 10 years ago are not working any more. Some students have got quite a mob mentality. I don't know what it - I think it might maybe just be the youth at the moment…you've got all these problems going on in London and things like that, like stabbings, and I don't think that's having a very good influence on the students either'* (Emily Int3: 18.5.18).

Laura is more pragmatic in her viewpoint, choosing to turn away from the more politicised views prevalent in her host school. She counters her comment, '*I think people who are very, very unionised will struggle in a school'* with a definitive statement of her own motivation, '*I want to help the students. That's the only reason I'm here.'* (Int3: 8.6.18). The journey to QTS has not always been smooth for Laura and the challenge of her second placement causes her to doubt her career choice, '*when I was in that school, I was thinking, really, do I want to be a teacher?'* (8.6.18) but the return to her main placement school and the acceptance of a full-time position anchors her,

> *'Now I'm here - it sounds really cringy, but I drive into work every day wanting to come to school and wanting to plan my lessons, wanting to see the kids, wanting to speak to the department. I absolutely love it*.' (Int3: 8.6.18).

For Tina, the future is less certain. Throughout the year she seems to have moved closer to her subject area, acknowledging in her final interview that subject knowledge is '*important'* but still '*not fundamental*.' She enjoys her interactions with the students and feels that she has made progress with her classroom management, but is unsure over the benefit of the PGCE, confessing that she would probably not '*do the university thing'* if she had her time again. However, at the heart of her commentary

is a feeling of resentment, '*I do love it, it's just really time consuming'* (Int3: 25.5.18). She talks about her non-teaching family, revealing her envy of their individual time,

> *'You know, they can - sounds silly - but they can just clean. But I don't really find the time to do that now. I'm just like argh. They just do things that they want to do - just chill - and just relax, which I don't really have that time. I know they say it's a lifestyle choice, not a career, don't they?'* (Tina Int3: 25.5.18).

Perhaps for Tina, this 'lifestyle choice' is a step too far. She touches on her frustrations with the education system, but ultimately sees schools as lacking the agency to enact change, *'I feel sometimes it's a bit unfair and we need to be actually letting kids work more at their level. But again that's like, well up. Government level, not something that the school can change as such.*' (Int3: 25.5.18)

7.6 Conclusion

When considering Maple Alliance in relation to the first research question, 'How do trainee secondary teachers learn to teach in different postgraduate teacher training settings?' the findings highlight the complexity of the programme structure. The landscape of Maple Alliance combines the three elements of the Teaching School Alliance, placement schools and the global institution. The promotion of this 'blended programme' has advantages for the Teaching School Alliance. Commenting on the provision of a '*local service'*, ITT co-ordinator Julie also notes how the course is '*less threatening'* for the provider as any Ofsted inspection would be of the global institution rather than the Teaching School Alliance. For the trainees, it is the discourses and practices of the school environment that seem to dominate their experience. Selection is often driven by location ('*it's very local to where I am…all of the schools in the Alliance are very local'* Laura 17.10.17) and the desire to gain employment in a placement school is strong. For some of the trainees, the selection of the school has come first, a process that is identified in the course publicity, 'If you identify a preference for a host school at application stage we will endeavour to see if this is possible'[20] and the majority of trainees undertake classroom experience in their chosen school prior to beginning the course.

[20] https://find-postgraduate-teacher-training.education.gov.uk/course/1JH/26GL#section-about

Illumination of the second research question ‘How do the teacher identities of trainee secondary teachers develop over the course of their training year?’ is also closely aligned to a local view of teaching, situated in a specific school, as evident in Emily’s reflection,

> ‘*I think a key part of it is actually finding a school that are - you can progress in, so there's clear levels of progression for you as a teacher but also someone that's going to support you and you feel like you're well-liked in the environment’* (Emily Int3: 18.5.18).

Her comments are echoed by Laura, ‘*I think it's absolutely crucial you find a school that fits with you.*’ (Int3: 8.6.18). The success of the training model is evident in the fact that all three participants gain employment in one of the schools that has hosted their training. However, there are potential questions as to whether the specificity of this experience leads to the development of a narrow version of practice, promoted by an uncritical interaction with the online material and adherence to the situated practices of individual schools.

Chapter 8: Discussion

The intention of this study was to illuminate the lived experience of learning to teach in England in differing training settings. Specifically, the study has sought to answer two related research questions:

1. How do trainee secondary teachers learn to teach in different postgraduate teacher training settings?
2. How do the teacher identities of trainee secondary teachers develop over the course of their training year?

The richness of the data presented here is significant. The prolonged immersion in three different research sites has afforded the opportunity to 'get inside' the cultural world of the trainee teachers, with observations supplemented by the participants' personal reflections in interviews. Ultimately, the adoption of an ethnographic approach for this research has served to add to our knowledge at a pivotal time for teacher education. As Willis (2000) states, such approaches are particularly important at times of rapid social change, 'when we need to maintain some 'other' against which to judge dominantly directed and recorded current trends' (p120). With the emergence of a variety of alternative routes into teaching in England and an unprecedented move towards school-led provision, it is essential that research provides the means to counter the generic discourses about teaching and teacher preparation with the actual experiences of those aiming to enter the profession.

This chapter begins by outlining the substantive findings of the study, highlighting the observed commonalities and differences between the university-led and school-led provision. Secondly, a conceptual framework addressing the concepts of conflict, transition and agency is presented. This framework arises from the structuring concepts adopted in the ethnographic chapters and provides a mechanism for the evaluation of practice across settings. As an analytical and evaluative tool, it has the potential to reach beyond the confines of this study and could beneficially inform the work of all those involved in the making of teachers.

8.1 Substantive findings

8.1.1 Points of similarity

Despite differences in location and course construction, there are many points of similarity between the three routes into teaching selected for study. All three programmes lead to the award of QTS and all offer the opportunity for postgraduate qualifications. Each of the participants that completed the year gained either the PGCE or ProfGCE.

The nature of teacher preparation in England necessitates the management of at least two different locations by trainees, typically the place where sessions are facilitated by the training provider (be that within a university, a school or online) and the schools where placements are carried out. A lack of consensus across settings is perhaps inevitable, as trainees encounter the varying practices of the contributors to the training process. All three research sites expound the advantages of the prescribed combination of on-site training (including online at Maple Alliance) and in school practice, but conflicts arise in each site as contrasting voices contribute to the discourses of learning to teach. In all three sites, the time spent in placement schools is the dominant experience, impacting on the actions and developing views of all the participants.

8.1.1a Branded professionalism

Writing in reference to teacher training provided through autonomous Academies and Free schools in England, Whitty (2017) warns of 'branded professionalism' - the creation of particular types of teachers trained to fit the mould of their provider. There is an element of this branded approach in the provision in all sites. Visiting alumni to Central University promote a view of teaching aligned to that of the course leaders, whilst sessions at Oakland ITT are linked closely to the partnership schools, with subject sessions delivered within schools by practicing teachers and guest speakers drawn largely from local school senior leadership teams.

In Maple Alliance, provision is delivered in a tripartite structure, encompassing the Teaching Alliance itself, the schools and the online global institution. The dominance of the global institution is evident as trainees and school-based mentors alike seem to defer to their visiting Pathway Tutors and accept both the material on the online portal and the accompanying paperwork without question. Brown (2017) notes that sites can become versions of 'constrained social reality that is situated within and mediated by

relations of power, meaning that sometimes individuals act out the script given to them.' (Brown, 2017 p84). This is pertinent to the figured world of learning to teach within Maple Alliance, as mentors follow the 'scripts' provided by the global institution and trainees prioritise the feedback from the Pathway Tutors.

The promotional literature also highlights the branded nature of the provision in each site. The emphasis on the combination of theory and practice is present in the online publicity for the Central University PGCE, *'Our PGCE English course gives trainees practical and theoretical ideas on the teaching of English as well as modelling ways in which English can be taught in the classroom.'* In Oakland ITT, the personal nature of the provision is foregrounded, advertising themselves in the prospectus as '*a small, friendly team of staff who get to know all our trainees well and are able to offer personalised support.'* Much of the publicity for Maple Alliance is provided via the global institution, where the type of person suitable to apply is clearly outlined in the prospectus, *'You should be a motivated individual who has a passion to learn, teach and work as a member of a school team.'*

The extent to which each provider produces 'branded professionals' is difficult to surmise from one cohort. However, there is an emphasis on the relevance of practical teaching strategies in the reflections of all the participants in the two school-led sites, combined with a view of teacher preparation that begins with the identification of a suitable school. In this respect, there is little difference between the positioning of trainees graduating from Oakland ITT and Maple Alliance, whereas the Central University trainees have a tendency towards a more philosophical outlook.

The publicity and reputations of each provider certainly impact on the decision of where to train. Most of the Central University participants talk about a desire to study at a high-ranking university in a large city, with one participant describing how he was prepared to defer his place for a year had he been unsuccessful in his application. For the participants in the school-led sites, locality and familiarity with specific schools is more of a priority. Decisions are pragmatic, particularly for the proportionally larger number of mature trainees who have family commitments to accommodate alongside their training. However, it is worth noting that for at least one participant, their selected provision appears to have failed to fully challenge their intellectual capacity. Amanda ends the year with a ProfGCE from Oakland ITT, but her assignments and her regular

blog posts reveal her aptitude for Master's level study. In this sense, her performance is constrained by the limiting Level 6 accreditation of her provider.

8.1.1b Working with people and emotions

The movement to schools becoming full partners with higher education institutions (DfE, 1992) altered the roles of practicing teachers in the preparation of newcomers to the profession. The school-based mentor emerged as a key player in the professional development of trainee teachers in a landscape that had previously been dominated by universities. There are multiple examples of praise for mentors from the participants across all three sites, often coupled with a sense of gratitude that implies a commitment beyond the designated mentor role. For the trainees, mentoring in schools is often seen as an addition to the already busy work of their supervising teachers. The receipt of focused feedback is, therefore, frequently seen as '*lucky'* rather than part of expected practice. Whilst the mediating role of the school mentor is vital in encouraging and supporting the development of trainees, the necessary judgemental element of the role is problematic. For all participants, there is a tendency towards emulation of the working practices and habits of their mentors, the formation of a 'mini-me' (Cronin, 2017) who fits comfortably into the local pedagogies of the school and is rewarded in lesson observations and feedback.

The process of learning to teach is emotionally charged and the challenge of managing this emotionality is seen in all sites. This is exemplified by Central University trainee Zahra and Emily from Maple Alliance, who both adopt an outwardly rational approach to their teaching, rarely verbalising any explicitly emotional reactions. For both, feelings of anxiety and frustration are representative of a failure to cope and are perceived as weakness. Despite this, Zahra's unease in her first placement impacts on her behaviours in the classroom and Emily adopts uncharacteristically emotional language when discussing her second placement, describing it as '*nerve-wracking.'* For Zahra and Emily, departure from their usual rational stances proves uncomfortable and highlights the extent to which their experiences in the classroom differ from expectations based on previous encounters in schools. Despite already having worked in schools, Rachel too is surprised by the emotional stresses, describing the year as '*overwhelming'* and voicing her inabilities to switch off at the end of the day.

8.1.1c Local experiences; national standards

The presence of national Teacher Standards adds an external voice to the provision in all sites, reaching beyond the specifics of the local setting. The significance of this centralised text is evident both in the actions of those who interact with it and in how it is used as a structuring device within the training year. The rigidity of the assessment of trainee progress against centrally mandated educational standards can narrow the space available for innovative learning approaches that are not explicitly evidenced. In both school-led sites, interpretation of Standards influences the actions of the 'assessors', with their deference resulting in the adoption of a mechanistic approach. The focus is more on the ticking of boxes than the effectiveness of the learning and there is a desire to ensure that everything is sufficiently evidenced. Social relations with the centrally produced text of the Teacher Standards are based on compliance, with trainees and mentors working together to collate the required evidence. Discussions focus on target setting against the Standards and the relative merits of mentors are judged against their ability to get the job done.

The Teacher Standards are more evident in the formal taught sessions within the two school-led sites than at Central University. At Oakland ITT, evaluation forms completed after each General Practice Session include commentary on progression against the Standards and they are frequently referenced in English sessions. In Maple Alliance, the centrality of the Teacher Standards is further emphasised by their exemplification on the online platform, where they act as an organisational focus in the weekly training plan. The prescribed lesson observation sheets detailing the Teacher Standards become the material symbol of the global institution's authority, unchallenged by Emily's mentor despite her own misgivings, '*I'm not sure I agree with it – but ours is not to reason why*'. In Central University, assessment against the standards is rarely referenced in taught sessions and only enters the dialogue between the trainees once they have been out in schools. In this respect, the treatment of trainees in the university site differs from the other two as there is a greater expectation of their ability to manage their own evidence collation, an expectation that is not always met by the trainees themselves and creates a sense of distance between the placement schools and the training site.

8.1.1d Subject issues

For most of the participants, accumulated experience in schools marks a departure from content-oriented views with references to '*teaching'* becoming replaced with '*learning'* as the year progressed. This transformation of views is not necessarily echoed in their approach to their subject. In most cases reference to subject knowledge and delivery in interviews reduce over time, replaced instead with a focus on the more practical aspects of teaching. It has been suggested that trainees can lose confidence in their subject knowledge as they realise that the requirements of schools differ from the content of traditional degrees (Stevens et al. 2006). However, this observation is based on the premise that those entering secondary English teacher training courses will hold traditional English degrees. Among the participants of this study were those without specific English degrees (Creative writing; Film; Modern Art) and others whose module selection at undergraduate level had left them feeling unprepared for the teaching of the prescribed canon of literature.

Geographer Tina is alone in demonstrating a distinctive move towards her subject as the year progresses. As she becomes more confident in the classroom, so her engagement with her subject increases. As Dewey (1904) noted, '…the teacher who is plunged prematurely into the pressing and practical problem of keeping order in the schoolroom has almost of necessity to make supreme the matter of external attention' (p14). In Tina's case, the hasty movement to the practical application of classroom skills leads to a focus on behaviour management by necessity, with her only coming up for subject 'air' once she has some control.

8.1.2 Points of difference

Despite recognised similarities, there are qualitative differences between providers, particularly apparent in the formal 'taught' side of the training. The most notable differences are evident in contrasting approaches to the teaching of educational theory, informed by the explicit and implicit philosophical positioning of the programmes. In addition, the formation of participants' views about teachers and teaching are inevitably impacted on by the philosophies of teaching enacted in each site. These points of difference are explored in more detail in the following sections, noting how the differences both within and between sites of learning can create challenges for the participants.

8.1.2a Theory and practice

The theory/practice binary is recognisable in all three research sites. In general, exploration of theoretical models features more heavily in the provision at Central University, with a practical orientation more prevalent in Oakland ITT and Maple Alliance. In Oakland ITT, references to theoretical models in General Practice Sessions are framed as an 'add-on' to the exploration of practical strategies. English sessions are invariably practical in nature, often utilising concrete resources such as labelled lollipop sticks. In Maple Alliance, exploration of educational theory is largely confined to the online portal. Although extensive, the presentation of materials in this format is not conducive to discussion and there is a lack of criticality in the participants' interaction with the site. As the only English trainee, Emily also misses the opportunity to reflect with others in the same position, turning instead to her school department for support.

The most overt teaching of theoretical models occurs in Central University. The rigorous entrance requirements and the academic reputation of the university lead to an assumption of prior knowledge in this site that is less apparent in the school-led provision. There is a hint of truth dissemination from ivory towers in the more theoretical sessions, with the course tutors positioned as experts, imparting their often-published knowledge to the receptive but invariably passive trainees. There is a palpable change in the perceptions of the trainees following the start of the school placements, with initial idealism replaced with an increasing desire for practical solutions. Previous unquestioning acceptance gives way to a focus on individual teaching contexts, with comments such as, '*This stuff wouldn't work with any of my classes.'* (Fieldnote 30.10.17). As the amount of teaching increases, techniques for surviving in the classroom become prized above academic exploration, with growing resentment towards a perceived university approach that 'idealizes theory and ignores school constraints' (Britzman, 2007 p8).

With a statutory minimum of 24 weeks of the training year spent in schools, it seems inevitable that in the process of learning to teach, trainees will look to the local pedagogies and curriculum practices of their placement schools, adopting a 'what works' approach. As Dewey recognised over a hundred years ago, in initial classroom encounters there is a desire for practical advice (Dewey, 1904). This emphasis on

certainty is evident in the feedback from some school mentors to their trainees, with the promotion of an instructional 'top tips' agenda in which the definition of practice is reduced to the technical process of teaching. This certainty is echoed in the frequent framing of feedback to trainees in the form of targets, reducing the capacity for critical engagement with key developmental issues and necessitating particular ways of working.

In all sites, there is a tendency for trainees to prioritise classroom preparation, with theoretical inputs and academic assignments seen as a distraction from their teaching priorities. This is most apparent in the school-led provision of Oakland ITT. Despite her intellectuality and strong performance on assignment one, Amanda finishes her second one quickly in order to have time to concentrate on her planning and marking, dismissing it as '*as good as it's going to get*.' Her stance gives insight into the dominance of the practicalities of school life. Amanda's stated desire to be an outstanding teacher becomes more situated in the school environment as the year progresses and positive feedback from her school mentor on her teaching is prized above the acquisition of high marks in the action research assignment. There is in her discourse a 'spurious distinction' (Purves & Pulsford, 2018) drawn between academic and practice, the former associated with the ethos of the training provider and the latter with the business of teaching in schools.

Whitty (2013) discusses the need to find 'meaningful ways' of linking research and teacher training to ensure that the developing theories of trainees are increasingly evidence informed. The inclusion of action research as a prescribed methodology for some PGCE assignments partially addresses this, requiring trainees to gather data in their classrooms and relate their findings to the broader literature. However, action research is inevitably situated within the specifics of the classroom and arguably its deployment by trainee teachers serves to over emphasise the local context rather than facilitating wider critical engagement. There are also assumptions over the definition of educational theory and an understanding of how it can be applied to empirical data. What trainee teachers mean by 'theory' is likely to differ from the view of researchers and may not align with the views of the teacher educators or school-based mentors working with them. For some, 'theory' is seen purely as synonymous with reading, unrelated to the practical task of teaching. For others, it is seen as an irrelevance, *'I can't deal with all that reading'* comments Zoe loudly. '*I'm doing Art so theory*

doesn't come into it.' (Fieldnote Oakland ITT 21.9.17). This simplification of teaching to 'mere classroom performance' (Britzman, 1986 p446) undermines the relevance of theoretical models and perpetuates the tensions between theory and practice.

8.1.2b Philosophical positioning and conflicting views

Defining the teaching of English as an 'ideological weapon', Davies (1996) explores the philosophical underpinning that the subject holds amongst teachers, situating it within its political and social context. From a Marxist perspective, ideas, perceptions and consciousness are always the result of specific historic circumstances (Marx & Engels,1976), whether expressed consciously or unconsciously. This is evidenced in Central University, where there is an explicit presentation of a sociocultural view of English teaching, grounded in presentations that chart key moments in the development of English as a subject. Vygotsky is a constant theoretical presence, with an entire session dedicated to how his work on thought and language could impact on learning opportunities in English. Guest speakers drawn from PGCE alumni present supporting views, albeit filtered through the lens of the classroom. The recognition of a strong philosophy paradoxically motivates the trainees ('*I love their ideologies, they give us all the views'* Rachel) and is a source of tension ('*with my Year 9s I had to go against everything that I've learnt in uni'* – Rachel), a conflict in teacher education noted by William Taylor over two decades ago,

> 'Teacher education is of its very nature Janus-faced. In one direction it faces classroom and school, with the demands for relevance, practicality, competence, techniques. In the other it faces university and the world of research, with their stress on scholarship, theoretical fruitfulness and disciplinary rigour.' (Taylor, 1983 p41).

By contrast, in the school-led provision the practicalities of teaching are foregrounded. A view of teaching as a practical subject framed around a set of teachable competences is evident. In Maple Alliance, training places are only offered via School Direct, a training route that accentuates the 'craft' model of learning to teach, empowering schools in the recruitment and training of teachers,

> 'With trainees in school from day one, working alongside your existing team, it is a great opportunity for them to gain insight into life as a teacher and to be supported by those already doing the job' (DfE, 2014b).

The performative cultures of the local placement schools also tend to emphasise well-rehearsed generic practical strategies that maximise examination performance and, as such, the distance between the training and the schools seems smaller than at Central University. There is a turn towards practice (Zeichner and Bier 2015) with an emphasis on classroom strategies rather than subject knowledge and teachers' roles and identities. With this comes a keener identification with the schools by the trainees and a prioritisation of school-based support over that provided by the Alliance. For Laura, the discussions that take place in the 'shared congregational space' (McNicholl, Childs, & Burn, 2013) of the departmental team room are privileged over the input from the Alliance, who '*do whatever they can'* but are ultimately seen as less relevant to her than the '*on the ground'* support of practicing teachers.

In Central University, practices deployed in schools often seemed distant from the theoretically grounded content of subject sessions, resulting in conflict between 'loyalty to a university's academic tradition' (Lund and Erikson, 2016 p61) and the practical professional requirements identified in schools. This 'loyalty' is exemplified in the perpetuation of cultural myths (Britzman, 2003) prevalent in the narratives of the participants at the start of the year. The myth that 'everything depends on the teacher' is apparent in the participants' stories, a sense of social responsibility evident in their reflections. The conflict between the explicitly articulated principles of Central University and the implicit focus on a different approach to teaching in most of the placement schools is a source of emotional tension for some participants. It also serves to highlight the changing face of teacher education as the school-led sites seem pedagogically closer to their placement schools, with an increasing engagement with evidence-based practice that is generic in nature rather than subject specific. In attempting to answer his question 'What is English Teaching?' Davies (1996) suggests,

> 'it is particularly important, of course, that those about to join (and be socialized into the norms of) the particular social group of English teachers are able to question the deep-rooted certainties of the experienced practitioners from whom they will largely learn.' (p14).

In the findings of this study, such a questioning approach was made easier in the university site where the philosophical differences between school experiences and university input were more marked, but that in turn led to the increased potential for conflict and feelings of vulnerability.

8.1.2c Ideas about teachers and teaching

There are noticeable differences between sites in terms of the formation of teacher identities and the kinds of teachers the trainees want to become. By way of example, it is helpful to consider the contrasting views of Central University trainee Rachel and Oakland ITT trainee, Helen. Rachel enters the year wedded to an idea of teaching as aligned to notions of social justice and equity. She wants to '*make a difference'* and is heartened by the inclusivity and emphasis on mixed ability teaching that she experiences in her university training. She positions herself as a saviour, adhering to the cultural myth that everything depends on the teacher (Britzman, 1986) and appears to embody this characterisation whilst in the university. As she makes the transition into her first school placement, she encounters the academic rigour of a successful Academy in an affluent area and is forced to reconsider her positioning. She leaves behind her desire to work in '*very, very disadvantaged schools'* and accepts a permanent post in the school, grappling with feelings of guilt in the process but ultimately justifying her decision as developmental, '*the thing is I think I realised as well I need more time to grow.*' Her sense of self shifts during the year, in direct response to her encountering differing contexts to those afforded by her previous classroom experience. For Rachel, the conscious reflection on the process of change allows her to both explain and accept her new direction, acknowledging both the multiplicity and variation in her developing teacher identity, '*I think it's just important for me to give them the best version of me'* (Int3: 12.6.18).

For Helen, the decision to enter teaching was partly fuelled by a desire to redress the negative balance of her own schooling. She is not overly committed to her chosen subject of English ('*Well originally it was dance'*) but recognises the positive impact that her own English teacher had on her development, providing moments of achievement in contrast to her rebellious stance in other subjects. Although she is placed in her old secondary school, she is determined not to remain there, '*I don't want to see just one school. I want to see the bad schools, the good schools and eventually probably not live round here.*' (Int1: 29.9.17). However, by the end of the year, she has purchased a house with her partner in the local area and has accepted a position in her old school covering a maternity leave. Helen's positioning emphasises the dominance of context in the process of learning to teach. She embraces the practices of her old school quickly and without question, drawing on her knowledge of the

school and staff and concentrates on building relationships with her students, '*I know my kids so much better so it allows me to plan, not just for what they need to learn but actually individuals in the room.*' (Int3:4.6.18).

For Helen, her 'sense of self' becomes more contextualised as the year progresses. She is an active participant in the life of her first school placement and measures other interactions and inputs by their relevance to this space. Unlike Rachel, she moves closer to her previous experiences, engaging less with the input from her training provider and distancing herself from the alternative approaches to delivery and discipline in her second placement. As Britzman (1986) observes, 'Once the student teacher is severed from the social context of teaching, the tendency is to reproduce rather than to challenge her or his institutional biography' (p453). Feelings of becoming a 'proper teacher' are cemented when Helen takes responsibility for a parents' evening in her mentor's absence (see Blog in Appendix G). Her cyclic development is complete as she takes her position on the other side of the desk to where she sat as a pupil and the significance of her literally taking the place of her mentor is evident.

Whilst Rachel and Helen are obviously not representative of others, their stories do reflect common narratives in their research sites and point to differences behind the motivation to apply for school or university-led provision. At the point of application, the philosophical positioning of Central University trainees is strong, with all of the participants wanting to '*make a difference'* whereas the decision to apply to the school-led sites is rooted more in expediency and in a desire to avoid what is considered to be the overly theoretical nature of university provision. Rachel and Helen end up teaching in very similar schools, but it may be that Rachel's early ideologies give her the capacity to look beyond her training year to a view of the type of teacher she may wish to become in the future.

8.1.3 The same but different?

The data in this study reveals both points of commonality and distinctive differences between routes. The findings address the first research question, 'How do trainee secondary teachers learn to teach in different postgraduate teacher training settings?' highlighting the differing approaches on the selected postgraduate routes. There is a greater emphasis on theoretical models of teaching in the university site, but this in

turn leads to conflict between the university experience and the more practically orientated school placements. The school-led sites seem more focused on the training of potential employees for identified schools but this can cause conflict as trainees struggle to transition between schools, experiencing difficulty with the transference of local pedagogies. The rhetoric of the global institution dominates the online material in Maple Alliance, leading to an emphasis on generic pedagogy rather than contextualised provision.

The second research question, 'How do the teacher identities of trainee secondary teachers develop over the course of their training year?' is addressed through the participants' stories. There is a greater degree of reflection on the nature of teaching and teachers from some of the Central University participants, perhaps encouraged by the more explicit philosophical stance of the university. The Central 'brand' is associated with academic excellence and was a contributary factor for all the participants in their selection of a training provider. It is not, therefore, surprising that there should be an early engagement with theoretical approaches to English modelled in the taught sessions. Equally, the positioning of the school-led sites as a route to employment in the local area attracts those with geographical ties and is also appealing to mature trainees with family commitments. In line with previous research (Gorard, 2016), all of the participants predictably claim that they were happy with their selection and would make the same choices again, although discussions also reveal misconceptions about other training routes which may also point to a need for more accessible and available information for all potential teacher training applicants.

In all cases, the most powerful force in the development of the trainees during the year is their experience in schools. The need to fit into the performative cultures of schools is so strong that trainees find themselves adopting local pedagogies and practices, even if they later deny them when back in the formal training environment. In a teacher preparation landscape where the notion of a 'student teacher' has been replaced by an emphasis on training and in an country where the overall number of teachers has not kept pace with increasing pupil numbers (Foster, 2019), it is difficult for potential teachers not to become subsumed into an environment in schools that prioritises recruitment and assimilation into local pedagogies over the development of the lifelong, autonomous professional. As Britzman (2003) states,

> ‘The construction of the real, the necessary and the imaginary are constantly shifting as student teachers set about to accentuate the identities of their teaching selves in contexts that are already overpopulated with the identities and discursive practices of others.’ (p221).

The ‘overpopulation’ of the training process with the discourses of schools is apparent throughout the year, particularly in the transition between placements. In addition, all the participants demonstrate awareness of the wider discourses around teachers and teaching and many speak of a lack of empathy from family and society at large.

It was not the purpose of this study to make judgements about the provision offered on different training routes. As Willis (2000) states, ‘No ethnographer should say, ‘This is how it is,’ or ‘I know better than you do about your life’ (p120). Instead, the choice of an ethnographic approach was concerned with presenting a complete account of the process of learning to teach from the perspective of trainees, specifically addressing the research questions of how trainee secondary teachers learn to teach in different postgraduate teacher training settings and how their identities as teachers develop during the year. Despite the identification of distinct differences between sites, the analysis of the data has revealed related concepts that address the challenges and changes that occur during the training year and are likely to exist beyond the constraints of the three research sites. The emotional and philosophical tensions experienced by the participants speak to a view of teacher education as ‘deeply unsettling and conflictive’ (Britzman, 2003 p3), often exacerbated by moments of change or transition between sites of learning. There is also evidence that the ability of trainees to take ownership over their learning can be hindered by local pedagogies and practices. It is, however, recognised that capturing the lived experience of all trainees through ethnographic methods is not a sustainable approach for the evaluation of teacher training provision. Instead, it would be helpful to have a structured approach to analysis in any site and it is to this end that a conceptual framework addressing issues of conflict, transition and agency is offered here. This framework and its significance are considered in the second part of this chapter, before moving to consideration of its implications for pedagogy, policy and research in the conclusion.

8.2 Conflict, transition and agency: A conceptual framework

The analysis of the data for this study resulted in the formation of the five structuring concepts, used to organise the presentation of the participants' stories in the preceding three ethnographic chapters,

1. The training landscape;
2. Identity;
3. Navigating the course and people;
4. Struggle;
5. Conceiving and reconceiving the future

In the cross-case analysis, these ideas have informed the construction of the conceptual framework of conflict, transition and agency. Miles et al. (2013) define the term conceptual framework as a visual or narrative representation of the 'main conceptual ideas about a study and how they interact and interplay with each other.' (p24). This definition is adopted here, with the concepts of conflict, transition and agency arising from the analysis of the study's findings against the contextual backdrop of existing literature. The relationship between the three elements is crucial in developing an understanding of the way in which trainee teachers learn to teach and how they develop their identities as teachers. Identification of the geographical and philosophical differences between and within sites of learning highlights the conflicts that trainees experience as they navigate their way between settings. The process is one of transition, impacting on their professional identity and inviting questions about their views and values. It is often challenging, a struggle that is experienced on an emotional level. As the training year draws to a close, there is both reflection on what has passed and the beginnings of a vision of the future that transcends the training year.

Sannino (2010)'s analysis of data collected during a 3-month intervention in an Italian high school addressing teachers' problems in evaluating student learning adopts a similar vocabulary, combining the elements of conflict, resistance and agency. The enactment of a Change Laboratory facilitated discussion between participants, leading to consideration of their response to evaluative work at the school. Unlike in this study, Sannino places an emphasis on resistance, with the findings reporting how one teacher's critical and disruptive position moved in collaboration with others towards a constructive and agentic stance. Although still highlighting points of conflict, the

framework explored here is broader, encompassing the transitions that take place in the process of learning to teach. The development of agency is considered alongside the conflicts and transitions that are experienced during the year. As such, the training process itself is the focus for the research, rather than a specified intervention such as a Change Laboratory. In this respect, Sannino's research is limited by its scope and time frame, reporting on a specific intervention in one location for a 3-month period. As Thorp et al. (2005) observe,

> 'The practicalities of research in terms of time and money however limit an ethnographic approach to particular time slots in particular settings. It is not often possible to spend extended periods of time with subjects and become sufficiently integrated into the various domains of their lives to capture a rich insider perspective.' (p9).

The luxury of funded full-time doctoral study and unfettered access to three contrasting research sites means that the study presented here is not bound by such constraints. Immersion in the training experience of the participants has elicited a broad data set across different settings, allowing the subsequent analysis to reach beyond the contextual specifics of one place.

Consideration of the three related concepts of conflict, transition and agency directly addresses this study's research questions,

1. How do trainee secondary teachers learn to teach in different postgraduate teacher training settings?
2. How do the teacher identities of trainee secondary teachers develop over the course of their training year?

The way in which trainees learn to teach is revealed through the identification and analysis of the changes and points of transition that take place, whilst the exploration of conflicts highlights the emotionality of their experiences. Issues of agency and ownership arise from consideration of the trainees' position within their training site and placement schools, and in the formation of their identities as teachers both before and during their training. Although emerging from the specifics of the three research sites detailed here, the framework allows for a broader conceptualisation of the process of learning to teach that is not restricted to a single setting. Ultimately, it is acknowledged that the making of teachers cannot be achieved by the end of the training programme but recognition of the conflicts and transitions that are experienced and the development of agency that occurs during that time can inform

future development and assist teacher educators in the formation of supportive, critically stimulating and potentially transformative programmes.

8.2.1 Forming the framework

Rooted in the contextual world of learning to teach, each element of the conflict, transition and agency framework addresses a separate aspect of the trainees' lived experience. Combined they begin to capture the emotional reality of the process of learning to teach. The concepts of conflict, transition and agency are inextricably linked. Their joint deployment can facilitate sense making and understanding of the learning and development that takes place in the making of teachers.

Conflict is a constant presence. Trainees are learning to teach in varying contexts, encountering differing views and practices. Although these points of contrast are not by necessity negative, navigation of them by the trainees often proves to be emotionally challenging. In this analysis, it is accepted that learning takes place in a social context and the influences of each context are subjectively felt and filtered through emotional experience, the concept of *perezhivanie* in Vygotskian terms. Emotions are integral to practical action and the formation of the professional identity but are also enacted in social spaces that demand a certain way of acting. As Holland et al observe, 'People tell others who they are, but even more important, they tell themselves and then try to act as though they are who they say they are.' (Holland et al.,1998 p3). The need for trainees to be accepted into the differing environments (where they will also be assessed) can lead to a tension between their own internal thought and values and the necessary externalisation of their practice. The experience of these inner doubts or 'critical conflicts' (Vasilyuk, 1988) can be emotionally paralyzing.

Transition is suggestive of a process or a period of changing from one state or condition to another. Learning to teach is contextual and situated, bounded by the constants of time and space. It takes place in fixed physical spaces and in identified temporal periods. The concept of transition speaks to the changes that occur as learners move between contexts and the extent to which such movement facilitates the creation of something new. As such, transitions are consequential both for the individual and the social organisations in which they operate, potentially involving changes in identity as well as knowledge (Beach, 1999). Transition has direct relevance to the

process of learning to teach, with the pivotal transition from student to teacher encompassing questions of identity and reinvention. Transitions are not necessarily sequential or permanent, the name itself suggesting transience and uncertainty, but can provide the means to transform practices.

Finally, there is the inclusion of the process of developing agency, inextricably linked with notions of identify formation. Learning to teach takes place in multiple and often conflicting contexts and trainees can find themselves externally acquiescing to local practices. This can lead to appropriation, as the trainee 'internalizes ways of thinking endemic to specific cultural practices' (Grossman, Smagorinsky & Valencia, 1999 p15), resistance or inertia and feelings of helplessness. Although teacher education has the potential to provide an arena for challenge and reflection on learning and teaching, such critical reflection assumes a capacity to transcend and alter existing practices. This level of agentic energy may not be achievable when trainees are limited by the navigation of conflicts and contradictions within and between sites or the emotionality of transitioning from one state or place to another.

The framework is summarised in the table below:

Table 7: Conceptual Framework

Conflict	The internalised experience of contrasts and tensions that are not by necessity negative but can be emotionally challenging.
Transition	A process or period of change, involving movement both in location and identity.
Agency	A desire and capacity to act according to professional values and beliefs, directly linked with the formation of the teacher identity.
The three concepts are inseparable with the subjectively felt conflicts evident at points of transition and always impacting on the agentic capabilities of trainees.	

It is the combination of the three concepts of conflict, transition and agency that makes this framework a robust analytical tool. The relationship between the three elements is not linear or hierarchical. This necessary fluidity makes it difficult to represent the framework in diagrammatic terms and attempts to do so fail to capture the inevitable changes in emphasis that occur in each context and with each individual. In exploring how secondary teachers learn to teach in different postgraduate teacher training

settings, this study's findings reveal the trainees learning in a context of conflict that negates their agency as developing teachers as they navigate situational and personal transitions. However, it is also in addressing the points of conflict that trainees can come to externalise their inner doubts, giving capacity for a more agentic stance.

Conflicts are at the heart of the trainee experience, impacting both on how they learn to teach and on the formation of their identities as teachers. The experience of conflict is subjective, emotional and invariably internalised. As will be discussed, trainees can feel trapped or vulnerable as they struggle to cope with conflicting views or practices. Grappling with conflict is often an individual endeavour and can be isolating. Transition is suggestive of change and movement and sees trainees trying to make sense of their internal ideas and values as they move between settings and stages. There is the potential for collaboration although the process is still individually felt. The enactment of agency requires an element of externalisation, the making of active choices in response to inner doubts or uncertainties. Although influenced by the conflicting and transitory experiences, agentic teachers are also risk takers, able to resist limiting practices and develop new social interactions. Agency is often linked with collaboration, a relational approach that can be empowering beyond the individual. The process of learning to teach is informed and shaped by the simultaneous experience of all three concepts. Although it may be possible to characterise progression as a movement from inner doubts and conflicts to the externalisation of ideas and values in a collaborative environment, this process is neither linear nor certain.

In the following sections, the related concepts of conflict, transition and agency will be further explored, exemplified by the findings from this research. The final section outlines the contribution to knowledge provided by this research and the resulting conceptual framework.

8.3 Conflict

This study is situated in England but the presence of conflict in the training experience is not confined to the UK, addressing instead issues fundamental to teacher education internationally. Indeed, in a research project concerning the relationship between Norwegian teachers and university teacher educators, one teacher noted their distance

from university teacher educators, ‘we are on two different planets’ (Thorsen, 2016 p187). This polarisation is evident in the findings of this study as trainees attempt to navigate their way between two geographically and philosophically distinct spaces. As Marshall, Turvey and Brindley (2001) note, ‘student teachers have not only to negotiate between their own idealism and the turbulent realities of the classroom but between competing views of English teaching’ (p189). These competing views become the source of internal conflict as trainees find themselves managing the expectations of their course tutors whilst externally adhering to school practices.

8.3.1 Conflicting views

To a certain extent, the ‘two different planets’ outlook is evident in the presentation of practice in Central University and in some of its placement schools. The structure of English sessions in Central University is described as ‘twin-track’, foregrounding either a substantive or pedagogic topic whilst addressing another through the nature of the session delivery. The demonstrated pedagogical models are largely discussion-based and interactive, presenting a social constructivist view of English teaching that is contrary to that encountered in some schools. Training presentations include quotations that support a Vygotskian view of the educational world, such as this example from Britton, ‘If speech in childhood lays the foundations of a lifetime of thinking, how can we continue to prize a quiet classroom?’ (Britton, 1987 p25). This framing sits in opposition to many local school experiences, demonstrated by Zahra’s encounter in her first placement with local school practices that privilege quiet, individualised working. She experiences a conflict between the beliefs and practices extolled by her university and her school and she feels trapped and vulnerable. Amongst the Central University trainees, engagement with educational theory wanes on entry into the school environment as they search instead for controlling strategies. The desire to establish and maintain classroom discipline is dominating and although the training year ostensibly offers the opportunity for experimentation in the classroom, the high-stakes nature of its assessment is also limiting.

Conversely, the school-led model can see trainees positioned primarily as potential employees, leading to an emphasis on training as a route to employment in a selected school. There is a danger that the increasing marketisation of teacher training will discourage trainees from looking beyond their immediate experience, resulting in a

recruitment system that disproportionately prioritises locality. Notably, participants Emily and Helen both conduct their main placement in the secondary school that they attended themselves. Inherent within this is the danger of a very localised view of teaching, with ex-students being initiated into the ways of a school by their past teachers. There are obvious advantages for schools in identifying staff and training them 'on the job', helping to alleviate some of the recruitment pressures that are prevalent in the south of England. This grow your own approach serves to address the needs of schools, but the benefits for trainees are less transparent, highlighting a narrow rather than expansive view of practice.

8.3.2 Working with mentors

The school-based mentor role is fraught with conflict; there is no process for accrediting the expertise needed to function as a teacher educator rather than a teacher and systems operate under the assumption that good teachers make good mentors. The necessary duality of the teacher/mentor role in schools inevitably influences the trainees' perception of their function and significance. This can result in feelings of guilt, frustration or apathy as trainees navigate the relationship. For mature student Jane, the year brings disappointment as her own positive perceptions of her aptitude for teaching are not borne out by her mentor. The subsequent breakdown of their relationship contributes to her decision to leave the course and perhaps highlights the challenges inherent in mentoring trainees who have already accumulated life and work experiences outside of the teaching environment.

The presence of the more experienced other in the room can be undermining as pupils tend to defer to the known adult. Issues of ownership prevail as trainees find themselves teaching in the territory of others. It is difficult to have agency in someone else's classroom whilst they watch and many of the trainees voice their impatience to 'have their own class.' This is pertinent to Emily, whose mentor is particularly territorial, (*'I am a bit ADHD – I like everything to be just so – even in their books.'*). Although Emily is reliant on her for praise and support, there are hints at issues for the future in their exchanges. Having secured a job at the school, Emily will be joining the department and is potentially the stronger teacher. As Ellis (2010) observes, '…learning to teach as 'tapping into' experienced teachers' knowledge assumes that what is being tapped into is, at worst, benign' (p116). It is possible that Emily's

position as a future colleague impacts on the discussions with her mentor, who appears keen to maintain hierarchies of power in the department.

8.3.3 Managing emotions

Britzman (1986) reminds us that although prospective teachers have experience of teachers, they do not have insight into the emotional journey of becoming a teacher. The learning process is 'private, intensive and pressured' (Hall et al., 2012 p115). Faced with the contradictory practices of training sites and schools, or challenging relationships with school-based mentors, trainees can encounter uncertainty and a vulnerability around their own identity in schools, casting themselves as an outsider rather than a full participant in the professional setting. On this point, it is useful to consider the 'accommodation, acquiescence, resistance' codes of analysis adopted by Smagorinsky et al. (2002). There are identifiable examples of accommodation amongst the participants in this study. For example, Peter encounters an authoritative vision of teaching counter to his university preparation during his first placement, but rationalises this by compartmentalising the two worlds, describing his university tutor as separate from the school setting. Zahra embraces the socio-constructivist view of education and learning offered in her university training site but finds this to be in opposition to the transmission approach adopted by her school mentor. Her attempts at reconciliation quickly develop into acquiescence as in order to gain affirmation from her school mentor, she embodies the school's local practices despite her own misgivings. The process is emotional. She struggles to maintain her enthusiasm for her chosen career and even doubts whether she will finish the course.

Notable in this study is the lack of resistance from the trainees, overtly or subversively. The agency of trainee teachers appears limited by their context and the necessity of their assessment from both within and outside the schools. Acquiescence might be bruising, but it is also safer. A reluctance to adopt a combative position was also observed by Long et al. (2012), who note in their Ireland based study a preference for invisibility among novice teachers. They detail the fragility in the position of learner teachers who are striving to hide feelings of vulnerability and doubt from a profession that they believe to be intolerant of such emotions,

> '…our initial teachers may have come to believe that real teachers have to swim when asked to do so and not sink and that real teachers need not expect anyone to throw them a lifeline.' (p622).

The authors suggest that the adoption of a more formal mentoring system in Ireland could be helpful but many of the issues that they discuss are also present in the more formal mentor structure in place in England and was certainly evident in the experiences of participants in this research. Long et al.'s exploration of pre-professional stances includes the identification of three categories of invisibility: fragile, robust and competitive leaners, all three of which could be used to illuminate the experiences of individuals in this study. Tina's fragility is demonstrated as she struggles to reconcile her need for advice and guidance with a desire not to be a burden to the teaching staff. Her position as a learner is denied as she strives to appear an expert. Helen appears more robust, learning 'on the job' and equating her developing practice with the amount of time she spends in the classroom. But as is evident in her relationship with her mentor, she has no gravitas and is isolated, holding no position of power in her negotiations with staff. As she states, '*I am still training and I am still going to make mistakes.*' (Int 3: 4.6.18). Jane alone is competitive, claiming superiority in the classroom due to previous experience. Although she seeks recognition and esteem, she is invisible as a learner, both to herself and to those around her. This stance distances her from her peers and proves catastrophic as relationships in the school break down and she leave the course. As Long et al. (2012) note, 'Competitors do not admit that they need to learn and so their learning progress is often left unidentified' (p629). The invisible learner phenomenon, therefore, serves to highlight both the conflicts and resulting emotionality that reside in the process of learning to teach and can further highlight the conflicts within and between sites of learning.

8.3.4 Contradictions and double bind

Alongside the task of learning to teach, trainees find themselves having to navigate different sites of learning that are often contradictory in their approaches and philosophies. Zahra and Rachel both find themselves caught between two worlds, necessitating the adoption of conflictual positions. Rachel justifies her practice by separating herself ideologically from the context, '*I don't know if I'm quite the best fit for the school.'* (Int2:8.2.18) but Zahra struggles. Adherence to the imposed practices

of her placement is in opposition to her training. In order to succeed in the school, she faces a dilemma on an emotional level as she is required to behave in a way that is counter to both her training and her emerging identity as a teacher. She is caught in a 'double bind' (Bateson et al., 1956) or 'dilemma situation' (Engeström, 1987) and although she feels compelled to follow the strict rules on lesson content and format in her placement, she is conflicted, 'as soon as we were away from the classroom Zahra was at pains to apologise, '*I feel awful – that's not the sort of lesson I would want you to see.'* (Fieldnote 18.1.18).

Trapped in the 'double bind' of needing to satisfy the demands of the school and the training provider, trainees can find themselves having to embody versions of themselves that are not reflections of their own emerging teacher identities. Paradoxically, this both requires and removes agency. There is a necessary loss in professional autonomy in a trainee's active decision to adopt local practices and beliefs in order to be accepted by a school and assessed positively by a school-based mentor. Equally, there are issues of accountability when answerable to external training providers. The combination adds additional pressure to an already intense process, impacting on confidence and the ability to make constructive links between the two seemingly opposing worlds. For Zahra, it is only once she moves to a school whose approach to teaching and learning is more in line with her training that she has the mental capacity to draw on the theoretical input from her time in university.

8.3.5 Conflict: concluding comments

Notions of conflict capture both the practical difficulties and the emotional responses experienced by trainees in their programmes, often resulting in feelings of helplessness and a lack of agency. Trainees can find themselves caught in the dilemma of trying to be successful in both the performative culture of schools and the location of their training. Identifying how a need to 'fit in' to both sites simultaneously can lead to trainees adopting different personas and ways of working in order to gain status and recognition in each setting. Questions also arise as to how much reflective space trainees have, particularly with the enactment of a 'grow your own' approach to recruitment that can lead to trainees becoming pseudo NQTs before the end of their training year. However, the identified conflicts are all situated, specific to the individual contexts that the trainees encounter and not necessarily necessitating

change. How change may be enacted is addressed in the following section as consideration turns to the concept of transition.

8.4 Transition

The term transition indicates a process or a period of changing from one state or condition to another. From a sociocultural perspective, such changes are rooted in the relationship between the individual and the various social contexts that they encounter. The process is not finite, involving negotiation and renegotiation. As such, transition is not confined to the moment of change but addresses the process of changing, as exemplified by Gorgorió, Planas and Vilella (2002),

> 'Transitions arise from the individual's need to live, cope and participate in different contexts, to face different challenges, to take profit from the advantages of the new situation arising from the changes. Transitions include the process of adapting to new social and cultural experiences' (p.24).

8.4.1 Consequential transition

In analysing the presentation of moments of transition, it has been helpful to draw on the concept of consequential transition explored by King Beach (1999). Transitions are presented as 'consequential' when they impact on the individual and their social context, leading to potential changes in one's sense of self and/or social positioning,

> 'Consequential transition is the conscious reflective struggle to reconstruct knowledge, skills, and identity in ways that are consequential to the individual becoming someone or something new.' (p130).

A view of learning to teach as a situated practice (Chaiklin & Lave, 1993) invites questions as to how that learning can be effectively transferred to new spaces and times by trainees. Beach's identification of lateral, collateral and mediational transition goes some way to addressing this.

8.4.1a Lateral transition

The movement from learner to teacher can be characterised as a lateral transition. The classroom is not an unfamiliar environment; all prospective teachers have experience of schools and is inevitable that in the familiarity of the classroom, trainees will 'welcome re-enactments of childhood memories.' (Britzman & Pitt, 1996 p117). This mining of personal experience is also evident in the training room. For example, when

asked to suggest models of effective teaching, many of the responses from the trainees at Central University are prefaced with '*I remember'*, drawing on their memories of their own schooling rather than reflecting on the ideas discussed in their training. For participants Helen and Emily, the transition from a student position to teacher is complicated by their placement (and subsequent employment) in their own old schools. Their presence in the space is filtered through their past experiences. For Helen, the changing relationship with her mentor is evident in her initial use and immediate correction of her name, '*Miss Bird taught me, Lesley taught me. She was my teacher.*' (Helen Int2:30.1.18), highlighting the interplay between her personal biography and the context in which she now works. Both talk about wanting to '*give back'* to their schools, Helen from the standpoint of a troublesome pupil and Emily from that of the grateful scholar. By the end of the year, both were still very aware of their positions as former students but were also convinced that this gives them useful insight into the school context.

There are times within the year where the trainees are characterised predominantly as students rather than teachers. Course tutors often allude to their trainees' lack of experience, particularly within the subject provision in the school-led settings. For example, English lead Hannah anticipates that all the Oakland ITT English trainees will fail to complete plenaries due to poor time management, '*As you are learning your craft your pace is not on par.'* (14.9.17). Such comments pass unchallenged, there is an acceptance amongst the trainees of their position as learners. For Rachel, the choice of Central University as her training provider was motivated by a desire to prolong her time as a student, to '*have the best of both words.'* Although Peter enjoys the community of the university environment, once in schools he is keen to leave his student persona behind and is pleased with his development between placements, noting how he feels less like a student. The transition is not complete though and there is a liminal sense to his reflections as he inhabits the contradictory ground at the boundary between student and teacher.

By nature, lateral transitions are unidirectional. The development is linear, with one state replacing another. There is a binary division between the differing identities enacted in differing contexts, with the training setting reinforcing the student role and the school setting accentuating the teacher role. During lateral transition, participation

as a student precedes and is replaced by participation as a teacher. However, this unidirectional neatness fails to capture the recursive nature of learning to teach.

8.4.1b Collateral transition

Unlike lateral transition, collateral transition is multidirectional, moving 'back and forth' and thus potentially undermining societal expectations of linear progression. Citing Engeström (1996), Beach (1999) proposes an alternative to ideas of developmental progression in the form of horizontal development. Never removed from social activities, horizontal development 'consists of the transformation or creation of a new relation between individuals and social activities' (p128). Such a view of development is particularly pertinent to collateral transition and to the teacher training year. For the trainees, participation in schools and in training sites occurs simultaneously, with frequent movement between the two. In Oakland ITT and Maple Alliance, this movement occurs on a weekly basis, whereas in Central University, the time spent in the training environment is front loaded, diminishing as the year progresses, although links are maintained through the visits from the course tutors to schools. In every case, there is a need for the trainees to adapt to changing contexts, aligning their training with the reality of the classroom. They must 'figure who they are' in the contrasting worlds of the schools and training sites, whilst constantly transitioning between the two.

For most of the participants, there is a marked distinction between their behaviour and relationships in the training site and in their placement schools. As the year progresses, there is a greater desire to leave the 'student' persona behind at the doors of their classrooms. For Emily, by the end of the year she is enjoying relative autonomy, '*Now I've got to term three they leave me on my own'* (Emily Int3:18.5.18) whereas Peter is still frustrated by the presence of his mentor in his classes. In the university world, he is happy to adopt the identity of the attentive student but becomes increasingly frustrated by his position in schools, demonstrated through his multiple references to himself as 'other' or 'outsider'. The movement away from university-led sessions during the time of his second placement coincides with a shift in his classroom presence. With the necessity of juggling the two worlds removed, he seems able to grow in confidence and is visibly more relaxed with his classes. In Peter's case, the nonlinear nature of the collateral transition between school and his training site is marked. In the final University session, he seems to revert to his student self,

presenting an incomplete file for assessment and abstaining from discussions about current teaching groups.

8.4.1c Mediational transition

Beach's concept of mediational transition has similarities with notions of approximations of practice in teacher education, whereby trainees are given opportunities to rehearse instructional practices away from the classroom. The most overt example of this occurs in the early training sessions in Central University, with trainees engaged in 'micro-teaching' prior to the commencement of school placements. This activity places the trainees in the position of teachers to their peers, producing presentations in small groups on aspects of grammar and poetry that are then 'taught' to the 'class' of remaining trainees by the group. The preparation of sessions is successful in engaging trainees with the given topics, but the nature of enacted tasks is invariably pedestrian. Overall, the 'micro-teaching' feels like a combination of role playing and rehearsal, an approximation of practice that seems to embody a 'shift from a focus on what teachers know and believe to a greater focus on what teachers do' (Ball & Forzani, 2009 p503). The result is something seemingly quite separate from both the philosophical views of the university and the realities of the schools that the trainees will later encounter.

An alternative form of mediational transition is provided in Maple Alliance via the online portal. The development of subject skills is largely associated with the trainees' interface with this resource, with only three face-to-face subject sessions provided during the year. English trainee Emily is fiercely defensive of the online resources but is also very accepting of the provided material. There is no criticality in her approach and limited opportunity to debate her ideas. Although there is the capacity to chat online, she misses the social interaction with other English trainees. Emily's developing practice is, therefore, missing the elements of reciprocity and collaboration that can be provided by the exchange of views between trainees away from their schools. As the only English trainee on the programme, she is isolated and has no mechanism for looking beyond the situated practice of her institution.

A focus on rehearsal and practice outside the classroom permeates the subject provision at Oakland ITT. Trainees are encouraged to 'try out' their instructional techniques, reminded periodically of the importance of a generic 3-part lesson

structure by the English tutors. Although not by design, the provision is synonymous with a 'core practice' approach to training, with the decomposition of teaching into its constituent parts. This focus on practice and rehearsal is evident in the theory of expertise and deliberate practice developed by psychologist Anders Ericsson. More recent studies have questioned the validity of the causal relationship between deliberate practice and expertise. As noted by Ellis et al. (2019), 'empirical studies have concluded that deliberate practice is "necessary but not sufficient" for reaching high levels of expertise…' (p116). Equally, although the provision of rigid lesson structures ostensibly assists trainees with planning, it necessarily ignores the significance of context and the social interactions that are enacted in the classroom. With the imposition of 'best' or 'deliberate practices' comes the implication that there is a correct way to teach, impacting on the agency of both the teacher educator and the trainee and reducing the complexity of learning to teach to simple and necessarily generic solutions.

8.4.2 Transition: concluding comments

Beach's concept of consequential transition is useful in so far as it emphasises the absolute centrality of context. All the participants engage in the specific practices of their school contexts, even when they sit in opposition to the views discussed and formed in their training sites, and there is extensive evidence in the data of the enactment of differing identities and practices in different settings. To this end, learning is seen as situated and bound by the contextual constraints of individual settings. However, what is equally significant is the transition itself as a site of learning. If learning is seen as situated, then in order for learning to be transferred to other settings, the space between them must also be a conduit for learning. It is in the movement between sites and practices that the participants are at their most questioning, engaging with the internalisation of ideas and values that are externalised in the different social spaces that they inhabit. In this often uncomfortable process, they change and develop so that when they encounter new situations, their position has altered. As Vygotsky (1994) observes,

> 'Even when the environment remains little changed, the very fact that the child changes in the process of development, results in a situation where the role and meaning of these environmental factors, which seemingly have remained unchanged, in actual fact do undergo a change.' (p340).

The extent to which trainee teachers are able to transcend the specifics of their immediate environment and embrace their own developmental changes can be considered in agentic terms, to which the analysis now turns.

8.5 Agency

'Me, change! Me, alter!' Emily Dickinson

The juxtaposition of 'change' and 'alter' in the opening line of Emily Dickinson's poem by the same name (Dickinson, 1975) fittingly conveys the transformational nature of the complex processes of identity formation that occur during the teacher training year. 'Change' suggests something on a grand scale, whereas 'alter' speaks more to subtleties, small but significant shifts in direction or focus. The repetition of 'Me' underlines the centrality of the individual and their agentic role in the development of the professional identity.

Teacher agency is traditionally seen as synonymous with the ability to make active choices, equated with the capacity to identify goals and evaluate success (Taylor, 1977). However, the complex and subjective construction of the teacher identity is a function of the settings that are experienced before, during and after the training year. Whilst individuals can influence their own lives, their experience is always shaped by social factors and prior experiences. Both character and context are key as decisions are made in relation to both people and places. A helpful definition is provided by Toom, Pyhältö and Rust (2015),

> 'teacher agency is defined as willingness and capacity to act according to professional values, beliefs, goals and knowledge in the different contexts and situations that teachers face in their work both in classrooms and outside of them.' (p616).

8.5.1 A process of becoming

Wenger's words resonate with the process of learning to teach, 'because learning transforms who we are and what we can do, it is an experience of identity. It is not just an accumulation of skills and information, but a process of becoming' (Wenger, 1998 p. 215). The trainees are not just 'being' teachers but are 'becoming' teachers, a personal-professional formation that is both emotional and conflictive. There is a sense of duality, with frequent references to '*balancing'* in the data as the trainees negotiate

the boundaries between their personal and professional lives. For many of the participants, the influence of both their own experience of schools and the values instilled in their upbringing is evident, as exemplified in Tina's comment, '*sometimes I want to be their friends, obviously you're not their friend, you're their teacher. I don't want them to hate me, I want them to enjoy having the lesson, but I also want them to behave.'* (Int2: 30.11.17). This struggle with her newfound position of authority is indicative of her own battles with school and her determination to resist becoming the autocratic teacher that she failed to connect with herself. Most of the trainees share her trepidation and the link between a desire to be liked and a loss of classroom control is frequently referenced.

8.5.2 Projected identity

As the trainees approach the end of their year, thoughts turn to the world beyond teacher training as they consider their future directions, informed by the experiences of their placement schools and training providers. Notable is a change in focus from initial idealism at the start of the year, characterised by a desire to '*make a difference'*, to concerns over classroom readiness and a perceived need to be 'ready on day one' (Philip et al., 2018). Emily is positive, '*I feel ready now, it's just getting everything finished'* (Int3: 18.5.18). This rhetoric of completion is echoed by Oakland ITT, exemplified in one of course tutor Cindy's many tweets on the corporate Twitter feed during the final training session, '*Wow. Will miss you guys terribly. Thanks for being fabulous class of 2018. You're dismissed.*' (Oakland ITT Tweet 28.6.18). The language evokes a rite of passage, they are the survivors who have completed the training and are now 'dismissed' as fully functional teachers.

Similar framing is apparent in the university site. Peter identifies his readiness through the range of classes he has taught. In his final interview, he claims that the PGCE at Central University has informed his views on the teacher he wants to be, but elaborates by saying, *'I want to have clear guidelines for behaviour. I want to be seen as serious and fair, that's always important.'* (Int3:7.6.18), a comment that seems to inadequately reflect a 'personal philosophy and educational practice' promoted in the course handbook. The Central year closes with the production of a wall display by the English trainees featuring their 'teacher names', an eclectic mix of Mr, Miss and Ms that suggests the end of the process, their final transformation into teachers.

Despite the emphasis on completion, it is apparent in discussions that some trainees are looking beyond the immediacy of their contexts to an image of their possible teaching future, a projection of the sort of teacher they hope to become. Understanding of this identity reconstruction can be further informed by Gee's concept of projected identity. In his exploration of identities associated with the playing of the computer game Arcanum, Gee identifies three components: virtual; real and projective (Gee 2003). Virtual identity refers to a character in the game and real identity to the non-virtual person playing the game. Projective identity is defined as the interface between the two and connotes freedom from contextual constraints, a 'space in which the learner can transcend the limitations both of the virtual identity and the learners own real-world identity' (Gee, 2003 p66). In relation to the gaming world, Gee describes how the taking on of a projective identity,

> 'allows the player to imagine a new identity born at the intersection of the player's real-world identities and the virtual identity of the character he or she is playing in the game. In turn, this projective identity helps speak to, and possibly transform, the player's hopes, values, and fears.' (p200).

This speaks to the experience of some of the participants in this study. For Zahra, engagement with a teaching identity that sits in opposition to the restrictive practices of her first placement gives her hope. She seeks solace in looking beyond the real-world identity that she feels compelled to adopt in the school to the promise of an alternative in her second placement. She is still vulnerable, however, and had she encountered similar negativity in the second placement it is doubtful whether she would have finished the course.

Amanda and Rachel end the year by looking beyond their real-world identities. Prior to having children, Amanda had previously had her work published and the security that she feels in her acceptance of a job in her main placement school gives her the freedom to imagine a return to that world, albeit alongside her classroom practice, '*I might write another book'*, she laughs, before quickly adding, '*but do that in the summer holidays now*.' (Int3: 14.5.18). This passing reference in her final interview is the only time that she mentions her previous writing, suggesting an engagement with a possible, projected future self that has capacity for such endeavours alongside the role of a teacher. For Rachel, her projected identity takes her back to her stated intentions of helping the disadvantaged as she discusses a possible career working

outside of schools with those 'at risk'. She seems to see her new job as a temporary arrangement and there is a suggestion in her reflections of a frustration with the elements of the job that detract from her central motivations. In his conceptualisation of projective identity, Gee (2005) adopts a double-sided stance in which the world (virtual or real) is seen as 'a project imposed on us and as a site onto which we can actively project our desires, values and goals' (p211). There is a sense of agency in this view, an active projection of personal motivations alongside the requirements of the 'real' world. Although the trainees are bound by the contextual constraints of their placements and the stances adopted by training providers, there is a suggestion of an identity formation that transcends such boundaries. The performative and assessment-driven context of the training year challenges the development of an autonomous teacher identity, as observed by Grossman et al. (1999),

> 'Student teaching in particular provides one of the most difficult contexts in which to develop identity because the student teacher is evaluated by both school-based mentor teachers and university-based supervisors, who may have competing goals for the student teacher and different assumptions about how someone learns to teach.' (p12-13).

However, connection with a projected identity offers an image of what is possible beyond the training environment. It provides both a mechanism for personal professional development and a long-term dedication to teaching as a vocation, a 'commitment of self for the long haul' (Gee, 2007 p3).

8.5.3 Transformative agency

The capacity to move beyond situational norms is a feature of transformative agency. Defined by Sannino et al. (2016) as a quality of expansive learning, transformative agency 'requires breaking away from the given frame of action and taking the initiative to transform it' (p603). Moving beyond the 'here and now', such agency emerges and evolves over time, drawing on collaborations with others.

Examples of such agency were not seen within this research as trainees remained bound by the practices of their placement schools. As Haapasaari et al. (2016) comment, 'In order to envision and implement sustainable transformations, employees must have an active role in the development of the organisation' (p233). None of the participants were observed as having such a role in their schools during their training. Although they operate within departments, their trainee status affords them little

opportunity for full and equal participation in the sharing of experiences and the shaping of practices. As Hall et al.,(2012) observe,

> 'Much of the participation of the student teachers in the practice of teaching is more marginal than it is peripheral - lacking is the experience of mutuality and the mutual ability to negotiate meaning.' (p113).

However, there were suggestions of the future development of such agency in discussions, particularly with the participants from Central University. Reflecting on her final placement, Rachel is able to look past her frustrations at what she sees as a disproportional emphasis on examination performance, '*I haven't lost a love for the job. If anything it's just made me realise the greater issues that need tackling*.' (Rachel Int3:12.6.18). There is a suggestion that she feels equipped to tackle such issues in the future, even if her current situation does not provide her with the necessary responsibilities. Although not as vocal about his subject, Peter is reflective about the structures of schools and muses on his future role as a member of staff. Both appear to be framing themselves as members of the profession, looking towards the potential for collaborative approaches to changing the norms of their experiences to date. Zahra is less upbeat and speaks of exploring alternatives to teaching. Her negative experiences in her first placement appear to have impacted on her initial idealism, leaving her 'destabilized by the negative school contexts and cultures' (Flores & Day, 2006 p230) that she has experienced.

The reflections from the trainees in the other sites are more situated, with comments primarily concerned with the practicalities of teaching in their chosen schools. The two exceptions are Amanda and Laura, both of whom had work experiences outside of teaching prior to training. Laura is vocal about the malaise that she sees in staffrooms and is keen to position herself away from the negativity. Similarly, Amanda looks beyond staffroom politics to the broader role of teachers in society, '*It's a very important role in our society I think, not only educating our kids but safeguarding them, because we know them'* (Amanda Int3: 14.5.18). In her research conducted in Zambian schools, Bajaj (2009) asserts that it is on leaving the relative shelter of the school environment that graduates 'renegotiate their sense of agency based on the dynamic interplay between internal beliefs and external situations' (p552). The same could be said for those undertaking teacher training. It is perhaps only on leaving the

training environment that they have sufficient agency as teachers, as opposed to students, to enact change.

The intensity of the training year and the emphasis on completion sits in opposition to ideas of becoming that embrace uncertainty and introspection. In this study, a lack of agentic focus on developing autonomous criticality is evident in all sites, but particularly in the school-led provision of Oakland ITT and Maple Alliance. However, engagement with a projected self that exists outside the training context gives trainee teachers a sense of hope and emotional investment in their career development that is not confined to the enactment of local practices or the values and beliefs held within a specific training programme. Embracing that future self may result in the development of individual and collaborative actions that have the power to transform accepted norms. The explicit philosophical stance of Central University appears to impact on the trainees' capacity to look beyond their immediate situations and although they bemoan the lack of clarity around such tasks as folder collation and lesson plan formats, it could be that having to navigate such issues helps with the development of the professional resilience needed to survive in the 'recruit-burnout-replace' (Teacher Education Exchange, 2017) environment.

8.5.4 Agency: concluding comments

The development of agency in the process of learning to teach is hindered by the duality of the training year. Trainees are simultaneously students and teachers, encouraged to practice their skills and take risks whilst also being judged on their performances. They are expected to participate in departmental practices but are positioned outside of the circle and so are unable to engage in collaborative work on an equal footing. This positioning is likely to result in acquiescence and the internalisation of doubts and uncertainties. There is a role for a more capable other (Vygotsky, 1978) in monitoring and assisting trainees with the formation of the necessary connections between private sense making and public meaning. School-based mentors are ideally placed for such work, but their position as potential future colleagues situated within local school practices can complicate relationships. Resistance of practices that conflict with inner values can seem negative, associated with an unwillingness to embrace change. However, resistance is also linked with the development of agency. As Kindred (1999) observes,

> ‘Resistance is not only a contest of authority, as it presents itself, but ultimately it is a move towards authorship. It is an act along the path of appropriation and empowerment, or making ‘mine’. (p213).

Resistance is, therefore, equated with the externalisation of inner doubts and conflict, a movement away from acquiescence and accommodation towards a more agentic stance. Such a transition was observed in Smagorinsky et al. (2002)’s study of Andrea whose belief that she could act against the curriculum develops in the three years following the completion of her teacher training. In this study, the trainees are yet to display such capacities but there are signs of ongoing development beyond the constraints of the training year. As Rachel comments, ‘*I think this profession has taught me that there's always room for self-doubt and self-reflection and self-growth.’* (Int 3: 12.6.18). It is, perhaps, only once trainees externally transition from students to teachers on qualification that the potential for participatory collaboration can be fully explored and opportunities for the external expression of conflicts can be developed.

8.6 Conclusion

This analysis of three contrasting postgraduate routes into teaching provides a detailed and revealing picture of the process of learning to teach. Analysing the trainee experience through the conceptual lens of conflict, transition and agency provides focused insight into the totality of the trainee experience and directly addresses the research questions of how trainee secondary teachers learn to teach in different postgraduate teacher training settings and how their teacher identities develop during the training year.

It is in the relationship between the three concepts of conflict, transition and agency that the strength of the framework lies. Trainees are learning to teach in a conflicting landscape, managing transitions of both place and identity. Although the presence of conflict impacts on the exercise of agency, the movement toward the externalisation of inner doubts suggests the possibility of future autonomy and collaborative development. The findings from this research provide a view of the process of learning to teach that transcends the specifics of the sites under study and informs our understanding of the making of teachers.

8.7 A contribution to knowledge

This research contributes to our knowledge of teacher education in two distinct ways. Firstly, immersion in three contrasting postgraduate teacher training sites has enabled the generation and subsequent analysis of rich, unique data that charts the learning and development of those undertaking teacher training. The selected locations straddle the binary line between university-led and school-led training, although a stark contrast in outcomes between trainees following different routes was not apparent. Secondly, the study makes a conceptual contribution in the formation of a framework addressing the concepts of conflict, transition and agency. Arising from the data, the framework also offers a means of evaluation and analysis that transcends the specifics of the identified research sites.

Crucially positioned from the point of view of would-be teachers, the strength of the study lies in its detail, adopting ethnographic practices to chart the lived experiences of the trainees as they attempt to navigate the complex and often conflicting processes of learning to teach. With access to three different routes into teaching, the research provides in-depth and insightful comment on the nature of teacher preparation in England and the theoretical significance of the experience of learning to teach. Gatti (2016) comments that, 'Learning to teach might be a lot of things, but linear, contained, and predictable it is not' (p35). Here, the deep ethnographic study provides a portrait of what learning to teach is. The findings highlight qualitative differences in the provision between routes but also identify the shared significance of the school experience in shaping the identity and progression of trainees during the year. Steeped in context, the research offers a significant contribution to our knowledge of what it looks and feels like to learn to teach in the increasingly marketized landscape of teacher training in England.

Teacher education needs to be attuned to the challenges that the current fragmented landscape of provision presents for those entering the profession. The formation of the conceptual framework of conflict, transition and agency offers an effective and original approach to analysing the trainee experience, highlighting key areas for consideration by teacher educators as they plan and deliver their programmes. The identification of subjectively felt conflicts at the heart of the trainee experience highlights the emotionality of the training process and the social and situational nature

of the process of learning to teach. The concept of transition recognises the centrality of context and looks to illuminate the tensions and struggles that can be experienced in the movement between sites and stages for trainee teachers. In so doing, the transition itself is highlighted as a site of learning as trainees wrestle with the development of identities, knowledge and skills. The process of transition is as important as the outcome, involving the adaption to new social and cultural experiences and with the capacity to shape identities and make something new. The development of agency is directly linked with the formation of the professional identity and notions of becoming. This element of the framework begins to look beyond the confines of the year and the restrictions of the trainee or student persona.

The robustness of the framework lies in the interrelated nature of the concepts of conflict, transition and agency. Conceptually, the framework resists linearity as the process of learning to teach is shaped by the simultaneous experience of all three elements. Recognition of the recursive nature of the pivotal collateral transition from student to teacher informs understanding of the formation of teacher identity in contrasting settings. Whilst the presence of internal conflicts can be emotionally paralyzing, the potential for the externalisation of such uncertainties in supportive social situations has the capacity to increase agency and empowerment. Increased awareness and evaluation of the presence of conflict and moments of transition in the training year has the potential to change practices and outlooks, encouraging the development of agentic learners.

The focus for this study was primarily on trainee secondary English teachers. However, the conceptual nature of the framework means that it is applicable across subjects and key stages, illuminating how trainee teachers learn to teach, how their identities as teachers develop and how teacher educators might best support the development of their trainees. As such, the provision of the conceptual framework of conflict, transition and agency arising from such a rich ethnographic picture of trainee teacher learning and development makes a significant contribution to the field of teacher education.

Chapter 9: Conclusion

The teacher preparation landscape in England is difficult to navigate. There is an increasingly wide range of routes into teaching available in a marketized environment where recruitment onto courses is crucial for the survival of programmes. Having selected a training provider, the emergence of conflicts within and between sites of learning impact on the emotional struggles of those wishing to enter the profession. Across all routes, the discourses from placement schools can come to dominate the trainee experience. In such a complex environment it is essential that analyses of the making of teachers stay focused on the lived experience of the trainees, regardless of context. The conceptual framework of conflict, transition and agency presented in this study enables a discussion of the training experience across providers and offers a mechanism for analysis that is Janus-faced, looking inward to the contextualized trainee experience and outward to the potential for transformative practices.

In *The Making of a Teacher*, Pam Grossman (1990)'s case studies illuminate a distinction between an 'image of the possible' in teacher education, which she encounters in the university setting, where 'subject-specific coursework did influence beginning teachers' beliefs and practice' and a more damming 'portrait of the probable' observed by those without the same university input (p146). Such a stark binary contrast between trainees following different routes was not apparent in this research. As has been shown, there are differences in the inputs and philosophies of the training sites, but the discourses of the schools are so powerful that the outcomes are similar for trainees across routes.

9.1 Limitations of the research

As with all qualitative projects, this study has its limitations. The most obvious limiting factor is the small size of the sample. Although the total number of trainees observed reached around three hundred, focused study was restricted to ten participants. The sample comprised six participants under 25 years old (60% of the total), broadly in line with the national characteristics of trainees entering postgraduate teacher training, with a figure of 51% - 59% for HEIs and 46% for SCITTS and School Direct (DfE 2017a). In terms of gender, the sample is less representative of the national picture, with only one male participant (national figures are stable across providers at

around 31%). All research sites are situated in the South of England and are ranked 'Outstanding' by Ofsted. Whilst this allows for some meaningful comparison, it also limits the scope of the data. As such, the study's findings may not be generalizable to trainee teachers elsewhere in the England or at a different point in time. In addition, whilst the educational background of the researcher enabled both access to and understanding of research sites, it also raises potential issues of analytical distance and bias. Finally, although it is acknowledged that the making of teachers reaches beyond the award of QTS, this research is confined to the teacher training year.

Despite these limitations, the study makes an important contribution toward our understanding of the experience of learning to teach. The year-long immersion in the intricacies of three contrasting research sites has enabled a nuanced understanding of the developmental journeys of the participants and although the scope is small, the situated nature of research does not render it uninformative. As Pring (2000) comments, '…those who recognise the uniqueness of an ethnographic study do none the less find it 'illuminating.'' (p109). In this study, ethnography is a 'process of exploration, discovery and creativity' (Atkinson, 2015 p72), with analysis arising from the richness of the data, allowing for the identification of both similarities and points of difference across providers. The subsequent formation of a conceptual framework has the potential to inform approaches to supporting all trainee teachers in navigating the training year and beyond.

9.2 Implications for teacher education and future research

Consideration of the nature of learning that takes place during the teacher training year and beyond is essential in moving towards any assessment of the effectiveness of teacher education in England. Concluding their review of papers published in the European Journal of Teacher Education over 40 years, Livingston and Flores (2017) note a lack of research into the area of trainee teachers' identity development and learning during teacher training. This study makes a significant contribution to the research in this area. The stories of the participants reveal the intensity of the process of learning to teach and the emotionality inherent within the making of teachers. Such insights are useful to teacher educators in all settings, highlighting the strengths and pitfalls of provision from the perspective of those undertaking the training.

9.2.1 Pedagogical implications

The findings of this study and the resulting conceptual framework of conflict, transition and agency have pedagogical implications for teacher preparation. The explicit, articulated identification of potential conflicts in the training environment could form a powerful framing for trainees at the start of their year and at points of transition between the training room and school placements. The facilitation of structured discussions around anticipated tensions, revisited and revised as the year continues, has the potential to normalise experiences and go some way to alleviating the emotional vulnerability of those who find themselves caught between conflicting practices and values. This opportunity to externalise inner doubts and anticipate uncertainties is potentially empowering, contributing to a shared understanding of the pitfalls and challenges that are likely to be experienced. Such discussions could helpfully extend to meetings between providers and school-based mentors, encouraging the shared articulation of anticipated points of conflict and recognising the need to support trainees in their navigation of such issues.

There is an important role for all those involved in teacher preparation in supporting with the navigation of the identified transitions that take place during the training year. Mediation is key, providing opportunities for trainees to experience and learn from points of transition in a supported environment. The use of approximations of practice in the training room could be a powerful tool, inviting trainees to discuss how practices may change between settings and rehearse how their approaches may be adapted for differing contexts. It is vital that such approximations arise from the trainee experience rather than being imposed as a set of generic competences, as exemplified by the 'core practices' movement. For example, visits to second placement schools could be followed by a structured planning and discursive task that addresses the specifics of lesson planning and delivery in the new environment and articulates how it differs from previous placements. Equally, open recognition of the differing identities of 'trainee' and 'teacher' is important, encouraging reflection on how roles change and how such differences impact on professional relationships.

The development of agentic teachers critically involves the taking of risks, both for the trainees and for the teachers that support them. As Edwards (2015) notes, '…learners may not recognise the demands presented to them, or may find them too uncomfortable to tackle' (p275). In an environment that is necessarily judgemental, it

can be easier for trainees to remain invisible, internalising doubts and acquiescing to local practices. There is a role for teacher educators and school-based mentors in mediating such demands, focusing on what can be achieved by trainee teachers and 'recognising the student teacher as both a learner and a teacher who is a legitimate, but not marginal, participant in the practice.' (Hall et al., 2012 p11). By encouraging the externalisation of views, the development of relational agency can be achieved through collaboration and discussion.

9.2.2 Policy implications

With a minimum of 24 weeks spent in schools, the English model of teacher preparation is predominantly school based. This research presents three different conceptions of that model but also highlights the many points of commonality between routes. Effective partnerships between providers and schools are essential but also challenging in an increasingly marketized environment. The required assessment of trainees against the Teacher Standards can also come to dominate relationships, with a focus on compliance and completion. The conceptual framework of conflict, transition and agency offers a mechanism for the development of agentic partnerships between training providers and schools, with the potential to facilitate discussions across settings. It provides a framework for the explicit articulation of a shared understanding about the purpose and process of training teachers that is not bound to individual contexts and is not linked to criterion for assessment.

In England, the number of teachers leaving the profession within 5 years of qualifying is growing (House of Commons, 2017). As such, there is an urgent need for policy to address issues of retention. The use of the conflict, transition and agency framework to evaluate and support learning in both teacher training environments and in the continued professional development of recently qualified teachers could impact directly on retention. It has the capacity to foreground emotional and transitional struggles, promoting a collaborative approach to the externalisation of inner conflicts. Self-doubt is crippling, evident in Zahra's emotional reflection, '*I don't want to do this, I can't do this, I don't have the courage…*' A movement towards a collective transformational agency in schools could help to negate such feelings of isolation and vulnerability.

9.2.3 Research implications

It is recognised that the process of learning to teach is not finite and that completion of the training year and the award of qualified teacher status and the obtaining of postgraduate qualifications does not mark the end of the making of teachers. Future research could helpfully address the extent to which interaction with differing teaching professionals and professional contexts away from the influence of training providers further impacts on the formation of professional identity and agentic practices. Consideration of whether there is a tangible move from individualised to collaborative practices once trainees take up positions in schools could be further informed by analysis of the extent to which new teachers still draw on their training experiences. It would also be of interest to see if there is a greater move towards a teacher identity grounded in subject specialism over time and whether the focus on behaviour management dissipates. An obvious recommendation for future research of the training year is that a larger sample of respondents be used, although this would require the recruitment of a larger team if ethnographic methods were to be the chosen method of research. There is power in maintaining the detail, keeping a focus on people, their feelings and experiences. As Willis (2000) states, 'well-grounded and illuminating analytic points flow only from bringing concepts into a relationship with the messiness of ordinary life.' (pxi).

There are also pertinent points of comparison to be made between provision in England and elsewhere in the UK. In all cases, the conceptual framework of conflict, transition and agency is sufficiently robust to frame the analysis of teacher learning and development, enabling findings to be drawn across settings, subjects and key stages.

9.3 Closing remarks

Throughout this research, my views about the nature of teacher training have been challenged as I have experienced the process of learning to teach from the perspective of the trainees themselves. The selection of an ethnographic approach has allowed for analytical distance as through my immersion in the details of the training year I have come to see the strangeness in familiar environments. The research journey has highlighted the conflicts and changes that characterise the training year and the need for reflection on practice. As Britzman (2003) notes,

> ‘Everyone in teacher education needs the space and encouragement to raise questions that attend to the possible and acknowledge the uncertainty of our educational lives.’ (p241).

The stories of my research participants invite the raising of such questions, reaching beyond the confines of the three selected training routes.

In writing this thesis, I have answered my two research questions, relating to the process of learning to teach in different postgraduate training settings and the development of the trainees’ identities as teachers. Its completion has fulfilled my stated desire to gain an insight into the nature of teacher preparation in England. However, the significance of the research lies in the detail of the study and the resulting picture of the participants’ experiences is much broader than the scope of its research questions. As Willis (2015) states, ‘the ambition, at least, is to tell ‘my story’ about ‘their story’ through the fullest conceptual bringing out of ‘their story’ (pxi-xii). In this study, I have fulfilled that ambition through the analysis of the rich and original data, preserving the participants’ voices whilst also looking beyond the specifics of individual experience with the subsequent construction of the conceptual framework of conflict, transition and agency.

Against the backdrop of a complex and contested landscape of teacher preparation, it is essential that our evaluations and innovations are rooted in the experiences of those undertaking the training. The conceptual framework of conflict, transition and agency arises from the detailed study of learning and development in contrasting teacher training settings and offers a mechanism for the analysis of the trainee experience across sites, subjects and key stages. As such, this research contributes new knowledge to the field of teacher education and has the power to inform the practice of teacher educators and policy makers in England and beyond.

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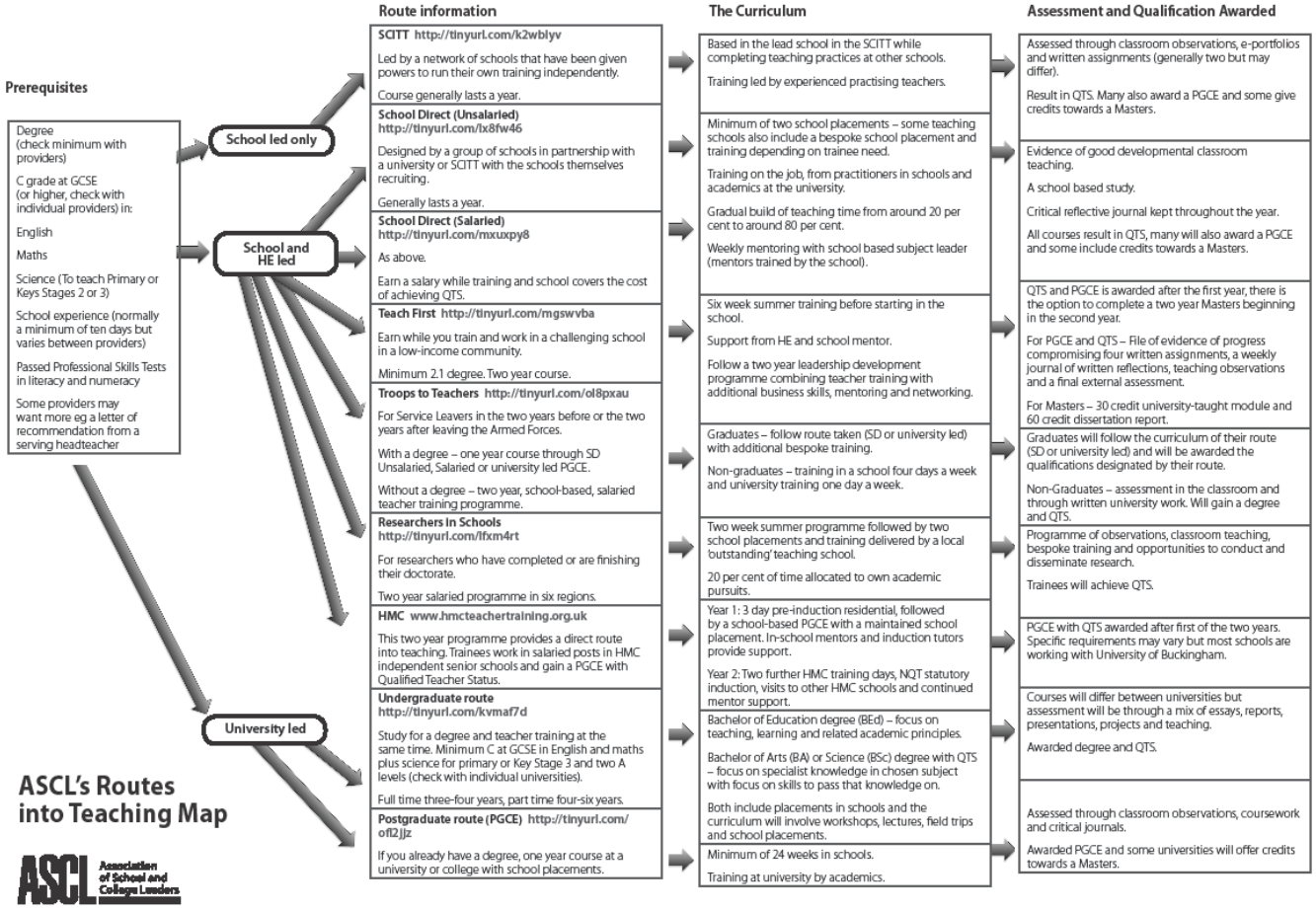
Appendices

Appendix A: ASCL 2015 provision map



Appendix B: Research Ethics

B(i): Course Leader Permission Letter

Address

Supervisors

DATE

Dear (Course Leader),

Re: The Making of Teachers: A study into the differing experiences of PGCE secondary English students in university and school based initial teacher training environments.

As part of my PhD studies at King's College, I am conducting a research project examining the learning that takes place on Secondary English PGCE courses in different settings. It is intended that the research will illuminate the differing approaches to learning and teaching practices in university and school-based initial teacher training. The development of in depth understanding of the cultures of both university and school based PGCE settings could help to inform future policy decisions around the nature and location of initial teacher education and the relationship between universities and schools.

To this end, I am writing to ask for your permission and assistance in approaching eligible secondary English PGCE students at (insert institution name) to participate. I would also ask that you grant me access to the secondary English PGCE environment to observe students in their subject sessions across the course of the year. In addition, with the permission of host schools, I would like to observe a lesson taught by selected participants. Selected participants will be asked to take part in three confidential interviews. I have produced an information sheet for potential participants that I have enclosed with this letter, along with a letter for Headteachers in host schools.

The research has been approved by the Research Ethics Committee at King's College London. All data collected in this study will be kept confidential. A summary of the study findings will be sent to you and the participants on completion. Any subsequent publications arising from my completed thesis would maintain the anonymity of both the institution and the participants.

I hope that you will feel able to provide permission for this research project and would appreciate a reply if possible, preferably via email. Please don't hesitate to contact me or my supervisor with any other questions or concerns about the study.

Yours sincerely,

Sarah Steadman

B(ii): Participant Information Sheet

INFORMATION SHEET FOR PARTICIPANTS

REC Reference Number: LRS-16/17-4414

YOU WILL BE GIVEN A COPY OF THIS INFORMATION SHEET

Title of study

The Making of Teachers: A study into the differing experiences of secondary PGCE English students in university and school based initial teacher training environments.

Invitation Paragraph

I would like to invite you to participate in this research project which forms part of my PhD research at King's College. You should only participate if you want to; choosing not to take part will not disadvantage you in anyway. Before you decide whether you want to take part, it is important for you to understand why the research is being done and what your participation will involve. Please take time to read the following information carefully and discuss it with others if you wish. Ask me if there is anything that is not clear or if you would like more information.

What is the purpose of the study?

The purpose of the study is to look at how Secondary English students learn on teacher training courses in different settings. I am interested in the differences between studying in a university environment and in a school-led training course. As I am an experienced English teacher myself, I have selected to look specifically at English students.

Why have I been invited to take part?

You have been invited to take part because you are a student teacher on a relevant course. Your course leaders have agreed to this research taking place.

Do I have to take part?

Participation is voluntary. You do not have to take part. You should read this information sheet and direct any questions to me, either in person or via email at [address].

What will happen to me if I take part?

If you decide to take part you will be given this information sheet to keep and will be asked to sign a consent form. Research will take three forms: observation of subject sessions; interviews and observation of a lesson in your teaching school. There will be a maximum of three interviews (each lasting between 30 minutes and one hour) throughout the duration of the course. The dates and the location will be agreed with you before the research commences. Some of the interviews will involve responding to some provided materials, but there will be no prior preparation required. The interviews will be recorded, subject to your permission. All recordings of data on audio-equipment will be deleted after transcription. Even if you have decided to take part, you are still free to stop your participation at any time during the interview and can withdraw your data up to a month after the date of the interview. Observations of teaching will only take place after a lesson has been mutually identified and agreed, both with the participant and the host school. Observations will not form part of any course assessment.

What are the possible benefits and risks of taking part?

The information I get from the study will help to further understand the learning that takes place on secondary English teaching courses and whether the choice of environment makes a difference. This will be of interest to teacher educators and policy makers as well as to your own institution. I will provide you with a summary of a final report describing the main findings.

There are no foreseeable risks in participating in the study. The main disadvantage to taking part in the study is that you will be donating up to 3 hours of your time across the year to take part.

Will my taking part be kept confidential?

What is said in interviews, taught sessions and classroom observations is regarded as strictly confidential and will be held securely until the research is finished. All data for analysis will be anonymised. In reporting on the research findings, I will not reveal the names of any participants or the organisation where you work. There will be no possibility of you as individuals being linked with the data.

The UK Data Protection Act 1998 will apply to all information gathered and held on password-locked computer files and locked cabinets within King's College London. No data will be accessed by anyone other than me; and anonymity of the material will be protected by using false names. No data will be able to be linked back to any individual taking part in the interview.

How is the project being funded?

The project has the backing of the ESRC (Economic and Social Research Council). The study has been approved by the King's College London Research Ethics Committee.

What will happen to the results of the study?

I will produce a final report summarising the main findings, which will be sent to you. I also plan to disseminate the research findings through publication and conferences within the UK.

Who should I contact for further information?

If you have any questions or require more information about this study, please contact me using the following contact details: sarah.steadman@kcl.ac.uk

What if I have further questions, or if something goes wrong?

If this study has harmed you in any way or if you wish to make a complaint about the conduct of the study you can contact King's College London using the details below for further advice and information [contact details].

Thank you for reading this information sheet and for considering taking part in this research.

B(iii): Participant Consent Form

CONSENT FORM FOR PARTICIPANTS IN RESEARCH STUDIES

Please complete this form after you have read the Information Sheet and/or listened to an explanation about the research.

Title of Study: The Making of Teachers: A study into the differing experiences of secondary PGCE English students in university and school based initial teacher training environments.

King's College Research Ethics Committee Ref: LRS-16/17-4414

Thank you for considering taking part in this research. The person organising the research must explain the project to you before you agree to take part. If you have any questions arising from the Information Sheet or explanation already given to you, please ask the researcher before you decide whether to join in. You will be given a copy of this Consent Form to keep and refer to at any time.

I confirm that I understand that by ticking/initialling each point I am consenting to this element of the study. I understand that it will be assumed that unticked/initialled boxes mean that I DO NOT consent to that part of the study. I understand that by not giving consent for any one element I may be deemed ineligible for the study.

Please tick or initial

Please tick or initial

1. I confirm that I have read and understood the information sheet dated (Version 2: 19.4.17) for the above study. I have had the opportunity to consider the information and asked questions which have been answered satisfactorily.

2. I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I am free to withdraw at any time without giving any reason. Furthermore, I understand that I will be able to withdraw my data up to 2 weeks after my final interview.

3. I consent to the processing of my personal information for the purposes explained to me. I understand that such information will be handled in accordance with the terms of the UK Data Protection Act 1998.

4. I understand that my information may be subject to review by responsible individuals from the College for monitoring and audit purposes.

5. I understand that confidentiality and anonymity will be maintained and it will not be possible to identify me in any publications.

6. I agree that the researcher may use my data for future research and understand that any use of identifiable data would be reviewed and approved by a research ethics committee. (In such cases, as with this project, data would not be identifiable in any report).

7. I understand that the information I have submitted will be published as a report and I may request a copy of it.

8. I consent to interviews being audio recorded.

9. I consent to the researcher observing my teaching, but understand that this will not happen without additional notification and joint agreement of selected lesson(s). I understand that any observation will not form part of any course assessment.

10. I agree to be contacted in the future by King's College London researchers who would like to invite me to participate in follow up studies to this project, or in future studies of a similar nature.

Name of Participant **Date** **Signature**

Name of Researcher **Date** **Signature**

B(iv): Letter to Headteachers

Address

Supervisors
DATE

Dear (Headteacher),

Re: The Making of Teachers: A study into the differing experiences of PGCE secondary English students in university and school based initial teacher training environments.

As part of my PhD studies at King's College London, I am conducting a research project examining the learning that takes place on Secondary English PGCE courses in different settings. I have been granted permission from (insert institution name) to work with some of their Secondary English PGCE students and have been involved in observing their subject sessions and have conducted interviews.

As part of the research, it would be very beneficial to see how their learning is translated into classroom practice. As such, I am writing to ask your permission to observe a lesson taught by (insert name) in your school, as part of their placement. The lesson will be part of their regular teaching schedule and is an observation of the teacher rather than the students. Observation findings will be confidential and no students will be identified.

The research has been approved by the Research Ethics Committee at King's College London. All data collected in this study will be kept confidential. A summary of the study findings will be sent to you on completion. Any subsequent publications arising from my completed thesis would maintain the anonymity of both the school and the PGCE students involved.

I hope that you will feel able to provide permission for this observation and would appreciate a reply if possible, preferably via email. Please don't hesitate to contact me or my supervisor with any other questions or concerns about the study.

Yours sincerely,

Sarah Steadman

B(v): Ethics Approval Letter

19 April 2017
Dear Sarah

LRS-16/17-4414 - The Making of Teachers: A study into the differing experiences of PGCE secondary English students in university and school based initial teacher training environments.

Thank you for submitting your application for the above project. I am pleased to inform you that your application has now be approved with the provisos indicated at the end of this letter. All changes must be made before data collection commences. The Committee does not need to see evidence of these changes, however supervisors are responsible for ensuring that students implement any requested changes before data collection commences.

Ethical approval has been granted for a period of **three years** from 19 April 2017 . You will not be sent a reminder when your approval has lapsed and if you require an extension you should complete a modification request, details of which can be found here:
http://www.kcl.ac.uk/innovation/research/support/ethics/applications/modifications.aspx

Please ensure that you follow the guidelines for good research practice as laid out in UKRIO's Code of Practice for Research:
http://www.kcl.ac.uk/innovation/research/support/conduct/cop/index.aspx
Any unforeseen ethical problems arising during the course of the project should be reported to the panel Chair, via the Research Ethics Office.

Please note that we may, for the purposes of audit, contact you to ascertain the status of your research.

We wish you every success with your research.
Yours sincerely,
Miss Annah Whyton
Senior Research Ethics Officer
For and on behalf of:
E&M Research Ethics Panel REP Reviewer

Major Issues (will require substantial consideration by the applicant before approval can be granted)
Minor Issues related to application (the reviewer should identify the relevant section number before each comment)
Minor Issues related to recruitment documents
You need to indicate on relevant docs that participants have the right to withdraw their interview data. Give an ultimate date for this, no less than a month after recording. This is standard for empirically-based projects involving participants. This may seem unnecessary given the anonymity in your project, but it is useful all the same to include since it helps reassure your participants.
Information sheet: Please add the full postal address of your supervisor after the harm statement.
Consent form: Please delete point 10 if not relevant.

Appendix C: Research Plan

Week beginning	Monday 9.15am (1/16)	Tuesday	Wednesday	Thursday GPS: 8.30 – 12.30 SPS: 2 – 4.30pm	Friday LC 2-3.30pm SPN 2-4pm	Wk
Principal site	**Central University**	**Central University**		**Oakland ITT**	**Maple Alliance**	
04-09-17				Philosophical statement deadline GPS: Behaviour for learning SPS: First session *Meet participants / consent forms* *Observation*	LC: Planning/ evaluating lessons	0
11-09-17	am Welcome lecture pm Subject: Welcome to course			(GPS: Lesson planning) SPS: Subject specific content *Observation pm only*	LC: Teaching and Learning	1
18-09-17	am Exploring English pm S3P lecture (School Systems) & seminar *Observation*	am Models of English pm Models of English *Observation / identify 1st interview times*	am Reading NC pm Subject knowledge audit	GPS: How children learn SPS: Planning a lesson *Observation / identify 1st interview times*	LC: Using Technology in classroom *Observation*	2
25-09-17	am History of English teaching pm S3P lecture (Joseph Mintz: Inclusion) & seminar *Observation am only*	(Visit to school to observe lesson)		GPS: Differentiation SPS: Growth Mindset – all trainees	Preparing for PGCE assignments Oakland – Academic Day 1 from 10am	3

	Initial interview with identified students					
02-10-17	am Analysing writing pm S3P lecture (Lesson Observations) & seminar *Initial interviews* *Observation*	am Grammar pm Analysing writing *Initial interviews* *Observation*	(SE1 starts)	GPS: SEND SPS: SEND *Observation* *Initial interviews with identified participants*	LC: Standards 1,2,3	4
09-10-17	am Shakespeare and film pm S3P lecture (Primary/secondary transfer) & seminar	am Visit to The Globe pm Drama and English *Observation*		GPS: Assessment (1) SPS: SEND *Observation / Initial interviews (not in next Thurs)*	LC:Putting together the evidence – NQTs	5
16-10-17	am Differentiation pm S3P lecture (Jenny Driscoll: safeguarding) & seminar *Initial interviews Maple*	am Learning Kolb pm Learning Vygotsky *Observation*	*Oakland Academic Day 2 – Whole School Priority Action Research* *Observation (10-12)*	GPS: tbc SPS: Subject specific content	No LC:*Initial interviews*	6
23-10-17 (Half term)	am Classroom management pm S3P lecture (Research Methods) & seminar	Study day				7
30-10-17	am AfL pm S3P lecture (Behaviour Management) & seminar	am Pre C20th prose and poetry pm Non-fiction texts *Observation*		GPS: Differentiation SPS: Subject specific content *Observation*	*Initial interviews Maple (10am Tina; 12.30 Emily)* No LC – home study	8

06-11-17	am Tutorial 2 pm S3P lecture (Literacy/Numeracy) & seminar			GPS: Reading SPS: Creative strategies for learning *Observation (pm only)*	SPN: 2-4pm *Observation/interviews*	9
13-11-17	am Group presentation pm S3P lecture (EAL) & seminar *Observation am only* *Arrange dates for in school observations* *Active Inquiry proposal in*			Deadline IMP 1 GPS: Job applications SPS: Literacy *Observation*	LC: Questioning/Blooms	10
20-11-17	am Job applications pm S3P lecture (Equality and social justice) & seminar *Observation am only*			GPS: Lesson planning SPS: Subject specific content		11
27-11-17	am Intro GCSE pm S3P lecture (AfL) & seminar *Observation*			***Maple observation Tina 12.20pm*** Primary school visit / No SPS	No LC: Home study	12
04-12-17	am EAL pm S3P lecture (Data in schools) & seminar *Observation (am only)* *Arrange second interview times (from wk 16)*	***Central observation (Peter) 11.10am***		GPS: Stretch and challenge SPS: KS2 curriculum (Hannah's last session) *Observation*	LC: Prep for 2nd placement / context data ***Central observation (Rachel)***	13

11-12-17	amThe Old Vic pm S3P lecture (Learning theories) & seminar	***Maple observation (Laura) 8.30am*** ***Oakland observation (Amanda) 13.55pm***	***Maple observation (Emily) 9am***	(Deadline whole school priority Action Research) GPS: Motivating learners SPS: Stretch and challenge *Observation*	No LC	14
18-12-17	Technology assignment deadline				Deadline Assignment 1 (Technology)	
25-12-17 (Christmas)						
01-01-18				GPS: SEND (2) No SPS *Observation – see Amanda re interview*		15
08-01-18	am Post 16 media (guest lecturer) pm SER Drop-in *Observation (am only)* ***Interview Peter*** *2nd interviews (use of stimulated recall from obs)*			GPS: Preparing for IMP 2 SPS: SEND *Observation* ***Interview Amanda*** (Visit to SE2 School)	SPN: 2-4pm	16
15-01-18	am Visit to EMC pm short films			***Central observation (Zahra) 11am*** GPS: Assessment (2) SPS: Subject specific content	LC: Differentiation (PPR1 Due)	17

22-01-18	am Post 16 English (guest speaker) pm Performing poetry *Observation (am only)* **Oakland Academic Day 3**			GPS: Post 16 Education SPS: Post 16 English *Observation*	(SE1 ends)	18
29-01-18	SER submission	***Oakland Observation (Helen) 11am***	am Feedback– sharing resources pm Revisiting the theory	Primary School visit / no SPS Oakland Mentor Training A guided visit to the British Museum	LC: Preparing for subject knowledge assignment *Observation*	19
05-02-18	am BFI visit	Tutorial 3 all day Review PPR1 & SK Audit	Exploring London Galleries	GPS: Behaviour for Learning SPS: Subject Specific Content am Gallery feedback ***Interview Rachel***	*Visit to B placements*	20
12-02-18 (Half term)	National Theatre	Study Day				21
19-02-18	Start of SE2			No SPS (trainees in school)		22
26-02-18				No SPS (trainees in school)	am: Preparing for SSA (Tutorial 4) Arrange 2nd observations	23
05-03-18				Academic Day 4 Well Being *Observation*	No LC: *2nd Interviews?*	24
12-03-18						25

19-03-18	Colchester Zoo – Learning outside the classroom			***12.20pm Central Observation (Peter)***	(SSA Literature Review deadline)	26
26-03-18	***9.40am Central observation (Zahra)***		Return to A placement	GPS: AfL SPS: Subject specific content *Arrange 2nd observations (week beginning 21 May?)* IMP 3 deadline	No LC: Home Study	27
02-04-18 (Easter)					Subject Knowledge assignment deadline	
09-04-18 (Easter)						
16-04-18				GPS: Collaborative Learning SPS: Subject specific content	LC: End of programme summary (Tutorial 5)	28
23-04-18				GPS: EAL SPS: Collaborative learning *Observation*	LC: Post 16 education	29
30-04-18				GPS: Creativity in the classroom SP: EAL *Observation*	No LC: Home Study SSA Submisson	30
07-05-18	**Bank Holiday**			GPS: Pastoral Care SPS: Subject specific content	SPN: 2-4pm *Observation*	31

				Observation (pm only) *Arrange times for final interviews (wk 36-38?)*		
14-05-18	Active inquiry deadline ***Oakland observation / final interview (Amanda) 8.55am***	*Arrange times for final interviews – probably in schools*		Assignment 2 deadline No GPS SPS: Assessment *Observation*	***Maple Interview (Emily) 10am***	32
21-05-18				Enrichment visit – no SPS	No LC ***Maple Interview (Tina) 11.15am***	33
28-05-18 (Half term)	**Bank holiday**				Subject session 11am *Observation* (Tutorial 6) ***Central Final interview (Zahra)***	34
04-06-18	***Oakland observation / final interview (Helen) 11.15am***			***Central final interview (Peter) 10am*** Deadline Final Phil statement GPS: Preparing for IMP4 – course tutors S: Subject specific content Teaching file submission	No LC PPR3 deadline ***Maple final interview (Helen) 8.30am***	35
11-06-18	*Final interviews tbc*	*Final interviews tbc*	***Central observation / final interview (Rachel) 11am***	GPS: Differentiation SPS: Subject specific content	End SE2	36

18-06-18	Enrichment Day	Enrichment Day	pm Tutorial 7	GPS: CEDP SPS: Subject specific content (final session) (pm only) Assessment board	Final subject session / valedictory	37
25-06-18				Final GPS and celebration	LC: Evaluation of course *Observation/final interviews*	38
02-07-18		Graduation Ceremony			No LC	
09-07-18	Oakland Awards Evening			Mentor training for 2018-19		

Key

Observation of sessions
Interviews
In school lesson observation
School holidays

Central University
S3P - Studying Policy and Professional Practice
SSA - Subject Studies Assignment
PPR - Professional Practice Report
PDP - Professional Development Profile

Oakland ITT
GPS - General Professional Studies
SPS - Subject Professional Studies
IMP – Internal Monitoring Points

Maple Alliance
LC – Learning Circle
SSN – Subject Specific Network

Appendix D: Data Accounting Log

	Rachel	**Zahra**	**Peter**	**Amanda**	**Helen**	**Jane**	**Emily**	**Tina**	**Laura**	**Lisa**
Interview 1	25.9.17	2.10.17	3.10.17	5.10.17	29.9.17	12.10.17	3.11.17	3.11.17 (with Lisa)	16.10.17	3.11.17 (with Tina)
Interview 2	8.2.18	18.1.18	8.1.18	11.1.18	30.1.18		13.12.17	30.11.17	12.12.17	
Interview 3	12.6.18	1.6.18	7.6.18	14.5.18	4.6.18		18.5.18	25.5.18	8.6.18	
Lesson observation 1	7.12.17	18.1.18	5.12.17	12.12.17	31.1.18		13.12.17 (& mentor feedback)	30.11.17	12.12.17	
Lesson observation 2	12.6.18	16.3.18	22.3.18 (& post obs interview)	14.5.18	4.6.18					
Assignment 1	SER 29.1.18	SER 29.1.18		PS 1 7.9.17	PS 1 7.9.17		Learning Tech 10.1.18			
Assignment 2				AR1 15.12.17 (& email feedback from Uni)	AR1 15.12.17 (& email feedback from Uni)					
Other				Blog posts 15.9.17 20.10.17 17.11.17 22.2.18	Blog post 5.1.18		SKA Meeting re online portal (18.5.18)		Email re obs 13.12.17	

Appendix E: Interviews, fieldnotes and memos

E (i): Indicative Interview Questions

Interview one

- Can you tell me a bit about yourself – what came before you being here?
- Why do you want to teach? Why do you want to teach English?
- What kind of a student / English student were you at school? Can you tell me about your own school experiences?
- Why did you choose this training route / provider?
- Tell me about your selection experience.
- What are your expectations of the course? What do you want to learn?
- What is your impression of the course so far?
- What makes a good teacher?

Interview two

- Reflection on lesson observation
    - Talk me through the lesson
    - Did you meet your objectives?
    - How did that compare with previous lessons?
    - What would you like to do better?
    - Relationships with students? (use photo stimulus)
- What are your students good at, in your opinion?
- Can you describe your relationship with your school-based mentor?
- How do the taught sessions link to your time in school?
- Could you tell me about a subject session that you have found helpful?
- How are you finding the course assignments? How do they relate to your time in school?
- How have you changed/developed since the start of the course?
- What has influenced you the most? (school; taught sessions; mentor etc.)
- What sort of teacher do you want to be?

Interview three

- Reflection on lesson observation
    - Talk me through the lesson
    - Did you meet your objectives?

    - How did that compare with earlier lessons?
    - What would you like to do better?
    - Relationships with students?

- What has been the role of the school in your development? Interplay between school and training provider? Other sources of support? Other trainees? Staff in school?

- How has your practice developed during the year?
    - High and low points?
    - Talk me through B/second placement – what did you learn?

- Do you feel prepared for teaching?
    - Academic assignments – how have they impacted on practice?
    - Course structure/delivery?
    - What changes would you make?
    - Advice for future trainees?

- What makes a good teacher? English teacher?
- Thoughts around next year/future – is teaching the end game?
- Reflections on the teaching profession as a whole
- Anything you would like to add?

E(ii): Transcribed fieldnote from Oakland ITT Subject Session

Oakland ITT Subject Session (6)
2.11.17
Session Lead: Hannah
Assessment (Paper 1 Language)

We arrive to find that the room is locked. Hannah is nowhere to be seen. Shannon tries her key and discovers that is a master – news that would have made her first term at the school little easier. Jane, Amanda and Lynne are yet to arrive. The room is already set up, with a different desk arrangement. *'Oh – I hate horseshoes'* declares tutor Carol. '*Really? I love them'* replies Helen. They talk to Carol with courtesy but no deference, rarely showing the same level of respect that they do to Hannah. It will be interesting to see how these relationships develop once Hannah is on maternity leave. It's the Jack Petchey Speak Out Challenge Day in the school and the noise levels are louder than normal. Hannah enters reporting how well her year 10s are doing. Helen announces proudly that she is a past winner – it had obviously had a profound impact on her. Whilst we wait for the others to arrive Alice asks Hannah about whether they should be applying for jobs and is advised that it is never too early to start. The others arrive, and Hannah begins. She has put together a sample GCSE Paper 1 script that they have marked in preparation for the session. *'It will be more chalk and talk than usual I'm afraid, but you will get advice from your Senior Examiner.'* The door is open, and Hannah's delivery is punctuated by applause from the adjacent classroom. Carol has positioned herself at a table directly behind Hannah, making it difficult for Hannah to command the room. She doesn't turn around when Carol is talking. Hannah speaks purposefully and from a position of authority.

They work their way through the paper, comparing the marks from the trainees with those awarded at the official moderation meeting that Hannah had attended in her role as examiner. They question frequently, always rewarded with a precise and assured answer. They are completely focused on the task and all contribute. Ross is concerned about context, *'Some kids didn't understand what Oxford Circus was, they called it a circus, I guess that's wrong?*' Hannah agrees but adds her own disquiet about the extract selection, '*Some of the passages that our Chief Examiner thinks are really engaging, unfortunately our students don't.'* Carol agrees, '*The exam board read it from their perspective, not that of a 15 year old.'* She struggles to gain the attention of the group and moves to the empty seat next to Hannah, leaving her laptop behind, displaying her emails and a lesson planning for the following day. They move on to the next question, where the correct score was 4. '*I had 4 and crossed it out and put 5'* says Ross, with a tone of disappointment. There is some debate around handwriting, but Hannah doesn't allow the discussion to be side-tracked for long and presses on, '*We want to completely move away from technique spotting, the comment on the effect of language is much more important.'* Amanda refers to a NATE article that she has read, her wider reading again apparent.

By 2.35pm they have reached question 3. '*I think this is the one that most English teachers dread*' says Hannah, reporting that the students at her school had performed weakest on this question. The correct mark is 6, the trainees' assessments range from 4-7. Hannah talks through the answers and they all take notes. The quiet nature of Hannah's voice creates a calm atmosphere, punctuated at 2.45pm by room changes next door. She talks through approaches to teaching effect, drawing on an extract from Alice Sebald's 'The Lovely Bones'. Amanda is delighted, *'That's really helpful – thanks. I had no idea how to teach that.'* After 20 minutes, they move on the question 4. The correct mark is 7 but there is much discrepancy. Jane has awarded 14, Lynne is closest with 6. *'We are playing around*

with 20 marks, it's my least favourite' says Hannah adding, *'It's a what and a how question – the context is the what and the method is the how.'* Just outside the open door, an excited group of Year 10s are discussing their day – it is impossible to hear Hannah over the noise, but she carries on. Lynne offers to shut the door. '*You can do, I could shout at them but they're quite nice'* replies Hannah. The door is closed. It is warm in the room and quite soporific, aided by Hannah's dulcet tone of voice. They focus on each question, reading through the student responses together. Phoebe remains quiet but takes copious notes.

At 3.06pm we reach question 5, a response to a picture stimulus. '*This is the most challenging. I was marking 10 in an hour in the summer,'* comments Hannah. She talks about how students' quality of writing will always be rewarded. '*So, if they don't like the picture, they should write about something else?'* jokes Ross. Hannah laughs, but doesn't contradict him. Again, their marking is erratic, with only Lynne and Ross in tolerance. '*I'm way out,'* cries Amanda. '*This is one you've really got to get your eye in'* says Hannah. She advises them not to get hung up on individual features. '*Is it clear? It's the effect that is important.'* Hannah tells them of some of the Child Protection issues that can come out – she has had disclosures through this paper in the past, '*We have to report. We have a duty of care.'* By 3.45pm the discussion has moved on to what mark constitutes each level, which Hannah can't or won't answer and brings the session to a close, '*So, there's your top tips, I hope that's been helpful.'* There are nods of agreement, as they rummage in bags for their TPFs and hand them in. The next session will focus on effect, *'I think this is the hardest thing to teach and to do'* comments Hannah. Amanda offers to take a resource pack for Taylor, but Hannah says that she has already deferred – a decision that has clearly been made during the morning.

As TPFs are completed, the trainees leave. Jane is concerned and speaks to Carol about the issues that she is having with her mentor. Carol listens but defers to Hannah, who then engages Jane in a whispered and intense conversation. Helen comes over to me to arrange a time for her observation – she is keen for me to come in and see her Year 10s as she thinks they are doing well. She recounts how she had met some of them on an impromptu cover lesson and their behaviour had been poor. '*They went back to seeing me as a cover supervisor like last year'* she explains, before adding that they were fine when she had them again for English. We pencil in a date. As I leave, Jane rushes to catch up with me, reporting that her chat with Hannah had been reassuring. She is close to tears and is concerned about going into school the following day. I ask if Hannah is planning to speak with her mentor. '*I've asked her to tell me first if she does as I think it might make things worse'* she replies. For all her confidence, she looks vulnerable as she walks away to her car, struggling with her oversized bag.

E(iii): Transcribed fieldnote from Central University Subject Session

Central University Subject Session
3.10.17 (pm)
Session lead: David
Grammar

The session restarts at 1.35pm with David offering support at the end of the session for anyone with concerns about their school visit tomorrow. He refers back to the process/genre dichotomy and explains that they are going to look at how these arguments '*play out'* in the assessment of students' writing. They are given an extract from a GCSE creative writing response to read and critique – it has numerous grammatical errors but has internal structure and is engaging at a personal level. The response around the room is largely positive, '*It's got a really good narrative sequence'* comments Cathryn*. 'It sounds like he is speaking'* adds Suzanne. '*Yeah – the interface between speech and writing'* adds David. Oscar is more grounded, '*As an exam piece it sucks.'* They all seem to like this activity and roleplay the part of teachers. At 2pm, Brandon enters, wielding a huge bag. '*There's a joke here somewhere – I'll come back to you,'* laughs David. Brandon takes his seat next to Marianne and the group continue, looking at an alternative piece from KS3. Although this piece is clearly technically more successful, they are quicker to criticise. '*I would talk to them about sentence starters'* comments Paige. Zahra thinks it is unclear, '*There needs to be more clarity of the plot itself – it's so mysterious they don't know what they are doing.'* Brandon hasn't really settled yet – he gets up to plug in his phone charger.

David moves on with the session. '*The point of this afternoon is about what we value in writing'* he says, before an introduction to Pat D'Arcy and her work on the contrasting paradigms for the assessment and teaching of writing. The reference is quite old, published in 1999, but David defends its relevance, *'Arguably, her arguments are even more valid now than they were when she was writing.'* He hands round an official critique of the first piece, which is damning in terms of technical accuracy and describes the students as a typical F grade. The trainees read in silence. They move to group discussion and David goes straight to the table at the back, where the girls seem to revel in the attention. Brandon still seems distracted, although he points with incredulity to the assessor's criticism of the writers' use of the word 'Dad' in place of the more formal 'Father'. '*It's crazy isn't it – absolutely crazy'* agrees David. At 2.30pm, he gathers feedback. There is outrage in the room - idealists still cushioned from the realities of the educational performative culture. *'It's really bizarre to assess creative writing by these standards'* says Oscar. They look at d'Arcy's predictably critical response to the assessor's feedback. *'I think I speak on behalf of all of us when I say that we totally agree'* says Claire, which is greeted with nods and mutterings of agreement. Zahra makes the point that there are issues with the original text that d'Arcy doesn't address and David agrees, pointing out that her stance is deliberately controversial. It is, however, clearly a stance with which he agrees. They move through the assessor and D'Arcy's response to the second piece, but they are flagging; conversations beginning to turn to the school visits tomorrow.

At 3.04pm, David begins to wrap things up. He warns them against negatively assessing autobiographical writing, '*Some people would argue that what that says to a kid isn't that their writing isn't very good but that their life isn't very good.'* Jan raises a question around assessment in English, commenting, '*I think it is weird that it's all based on exams.*' David reiterates the importance of having these big debates before they move into schools where

they will be told what to do. '*You need to have an underlying sense of what you think is important in writing'* he says, recommending the d'Arcy pamphlet again and saying that he has a few copies in his office. At 3.14pm, he ends the session, wishing them luck for tomorrow's school visit, '*Cover your tattoos up and that kind of thing – I'm sure you will all have a wonderful time.'* Although he lingers to answer any queries, no-one stays and the room empties quickly.

E(iv): Transcribed fieldnote from Maple Alliance Subject Session

Maple Alliance Subject Network Session: Teaching Shakespeare 10.11.17
Session lead: Vanessa
Present: Emily - Maple Alliance; Ray, Sandra, Lin - assessment only; Holly - CSS

There are three 2-hour subject specific sessions run during the year, designed to tackle the more challenging aspects of subject delivery. These have been added in response to feedback from last year's students who wanted some face-to-face subject content to supplement the online training. Emily is the only English trainee, so others have been invited to make the session viable. Vanessa taught at the host school for 7 years before leaving to be a Pathway Tutor and consultant. She is clearly unsure as to who is attending and how many there will be, although she is expecting me and is pleased to have another English specialist in the room.

The start of the session is rather staggered as people arrive at different times. Vanessa has some resources prepared but is unsure as to numbers attending. There is a container of hot water, some paper cups, along with a few tea bags in the centre of the table, along with 3 individual packets of biscuits. By 2.10pm, it seems that everyone is gathered, and Vanessa starts the session by introducing herself and asking others to do the same. We work our way around the table, hearing from the assessment only trainees first. This has been a baptism of fire and they are clearly feeling the strain. Ray chose this option because he wanted to '*learn on the job'* but has struggled to find his way. *'I feel like a phoney most of the time*.' Sandra is more positive, '*I'm loving it'* but is pleased to have Ray in the same school, '*We cry together'* she laughs. Ray is very aware of his lack of experience, '*I left uni in July, had one induction day and then a full timetable*'. He describes himself as a '*baby'* and later in the session it becomes apparent that he is insecure in his subject knowledge. Emily listens to them wide-eyed, before introducing herself quietly and explaining that she is preparing her first PGCE assignment. Vanessa is immediately interested, asking her about her action research focus. They have a brief discussion about reading and the relevance of boys' performance before Holly enters, apologising for her lateness and explaining that she has come from CSS and is here for a refresher as she is now the English Lead for the Alternative Education group. The session finally begins at 2.20pm.

Vanessa sets the scene, '*There's 3 sessions on teaching the difficult parts of English.'* Today's session is about Shakespeare and she starts by asking them to identify the challenges and record them on post-it notes. The activity is for pairs, so I find myself joining the session as Emily's partner and continue to be an active member of the group for the duration. Emily's main concerns are the social and historical context and the language. She wonders how she can make Shakespeare relevant for her students. Vanessa gathers feedback and emphasises that the issues with teaching Shakespeare are no different from those associated with teaching pre-nineteenth century texts. The level of subject knowledge in the room is clearly mixed and Vanessa is sensitive to this, commenting that they may find themselves with the challenge of teaching a text that they do not know. She recommends film and audio versions but insists that they must read the whole play before attempting to teach it. '*Do you know about programmes of study?*' she asks the group, a comment that is met with silence. She talks through the process, explaining the way in which the Government drives the curriculum. She explains that subject leads in schools should write their schemes of work based on the programmes of study, adding, '*We should all do this but rarely do. There is no time.'* She advises them to look at how the programmes of study are addressed in their own schools, *'This is standard 3c and you can use all this as evidence.'*

Vanessa is conscious of time, *'I'm sorry to rush but I want to give you some practical strategies.'* She talks through a range of approaches, including image galleries. Although she is patient, there is little enthusiasm in the room. They seem to be struggling to keep up, although I suspect that Emily's subject knowledge is much stronger than she is letting on. The emphasis is on ways into the texts and she relies heavily on resources from the RSC. '*Whatever resources you do, laminate them'* she advises. Ray is very aware of his age, prefacing a comment with '*Obviously, I was only in school myself a few years ago.'* He says he hasn't studied Shakespeare since Year 9, having focused on American Literature in his English degree, and his knowledge seems to be based entirely on his KS3 experience. Vanessa hands out some resources around 'The Merchant of Venice' – there are not enough to go around, and the quality of photocopying is poor. It is apparent that most in the room do not know the play. Vanessa moves on to a practical task, asking us to move the tables to the side and arrange the chairs in a circle. Holly looks terrified; Emily is enthusiastic and moves the tables quickly. The practical game of 'Whoosh' involves people taking on the role of a character or object from the play in the middle if the circle, breaking at the repetition of 'Whoosh' from Vanessa. They participate somewhat reluctantly, Sandra looking uncomfortable in her role as 'the balcony.' The activity ends with Vanessa asking them to dispose of some of the post-it challenges that have now been addressed. Lin is feeling much more comfortable and comments that she now has a number of ways forward. *'I did Macbeth last term. Wish I'd had this sooner and then I would have made a better job of it*.' At 3.30pm, Holly leaves early having been misinformed about the session times.

Vanessa continues, talking through various strategies, including another attempt at a practical activity around hotseating in 'Macbeth'. She asks them is they have had enough, but there is a willingness to continue. '*I can take more – this is really useful'* says Lin. Emily agrees, and Sandra says she can only stay until 4pm. The engagement is better now that we are on 'Macbeth', they all seem to know this text, and most are teaching it. '*You're looking really tired, are you with me?'* Vanessa asks Ray. He says he is fine and she continues, trying to play a video from YouTube. Despite Ray's attempts to help her, she is unsuccessful and gives up, instead directing them to write a tweet based on their learning in the session. Emily has hardly spoken today, although she has taken pages of notes. They share their tweets; Emily's focuses on the learning as directed whereas the others offer summaries of the session. At precisely 4pm, Vanessa then brings things to a close. Lin, Ray and Sandra leave immediately. Emily lingers behind and asks Vanessa if she would be willing to share some resources, handing her a USB stick that they had been asked to bring to the session. Vanessa is immediately obliging and with Emily's technical help, copies her huge file of resources onto Emily's memory stick. '*Use whatever you like, just don't publish it on TES and say that it is yours. That has happened before'* she comments. Emily looks horrified; she would never do such a thing. Vanessa's generosity here is notable; 30 years of resources have just been handed over without hesitation.

We walk out together; Vanessa back in role as teacher at the school, ensuring that we are escorted to the exit. Emily has enjoyed the session and found it useful, but comments that she would like a bit more face-to face time. She is, however, defensive of the online resources, '*You get so much material and I can discuss things with other trainees and subject specialists.'* We discuss my coming into school to observe her teach, something that she appears quite happy about, before signing out.

E(v): Analytical memo on student vs teacher identity following first interviews

Student vs teacher identity (19.11.18)

The tensions between the teacher and student identity are very apparent in the initial interviews. Stevens et al (2006) 'Despite their different opinions, student teachers embody a unique perspective, in that they could be seen as being part learner, part teacher: one foot in each camp, as it were.' p99 This is most explicit in Central,

> *I can still enjoy being a student, and then if I do my Central PGCE, that's going to be solely based on education intensively. So, I thought that I'd have the best of both words and grow personally*. (Rachel)

This tension remains throughout the year at Central and the difference between the trainees in the university and in schools is most marked with these participants. There is a separation of the two worlds – uni and school, as observed by Gallchóir et al (2018) who identify a contextual separation of identities in their pre-service teachers 'where the 'student' emerges whilst on campus and the 'teacher' segment gains prominence within the social structure of a school.' p151 This tension is to be further tested in the two school-led sites as both Emily and Helen return to the schools that they studied in themselves. For Emily, this is linked to a sense of social responsibility ('*I've spent such a huge part of my life here, I'd like to give back in a way*'), although she finds the relationships with past teachers a little strained, responding on an emotional level akin to that voiced by Hinchion & Hall (2016) who are '…particularly interested in what a developing student teacher identity feels like and what emotional resonances and atmospheres are evoked in its rendering' p417 In contrast, Helen finds the prior relationships useful, seeking help from her past teachers,

> *I feel more able to say when I'm struggling because I'm still a student and I'm still their student so it's easier for me to be like, I don't get it.* (Helen)

Interestingly, during the initial interview Helen emphatically rejects the idea of working as a full-time teacher in her old school, but it is where she is to secure employment later in the course.

There is a sense of roleplay in the initial interviews, with the participants seeing themselves as 'playing' at teaching. In Central, this is accentuated by the micro-teaching sessions. Many of the participants across sites see themselves as moving towards being 'proper' teachers, verbalised by Laura,

> *But I'm enjoying it and I can slowly, each week, see myself becoming a bit more of a grown-up, real-life teacher*. (Laura)

Appendix F: Communications

F(i):Oakland ITT Mentor Notices example

[Header removed for anonymity]

Mentor Notices
Friday 9th February 2018

GPS Focus: Behaviour management – preparing for B placement.
Target Set: Start learning names of students in your classes and prepare lessons for teaching after half term.
Standard: 1 and 7

Mentor discussion question: Is there anything you are unsure of before you begin teaching at B placement? B placements: (Monday 5th February - Tuesday 27th March 2018)

The trainee should be teaching 12 hours per week across 5 days. They are expected to have a mentor meeting each week of an hour. Their TPF needs to be completed, as usual please. If there are any issues or absence that we need to be made aware of, then do let us know.

Action Research Proposal forms

MPs need to sign ethical approval forms before Academic day #4 please.

Upcoming Dates

Date	Activity	Notes
Wed 28th February	TeachMeet #2 at XX	Please encourage your trainees to present at TeachMeet.
Thursday 8th March	Academic day #4	Trainees will not be in school on this day.
Monday 19th March	Enrichment GPS – Colchester zoo	Trainees will not be in school on this day.
Tuesday 27th March	Last day of B placement	
Wednesday 28th March	Trainees return to A placement school	Trainees will return to A placement to observe and prepare for after Easter. They are not expected to teach on this day.
Thursday 29th March	GPS/SPS resumes IMP3 due.	Please meet with your tutee in advance of writing the IMP to discuss evidence and progress against the grades.

Please note that there is no GPS or SPS on Thursdays during B placement.

F(ii): Oakland ITT Trainee Notices example

[Header removed for anonymity]

Trainee Weekly

Notices

Friday 16th

March 2018

GPS Focus: Personal wellbeing
Target Set: The end is in sight (6 days left at B placement!)
Standard: N/A

Zoo trip Monday 19th March

We are very much looking forward to the zoo trip. Please make sure that you are at [name] zoo by 10.30am as our talk is at 11am. It will be an opportunity to plan a trip in your subject groups and a day where you will be able to reflect on what this may look like in your subject. A few notes:

- Everyone must attend.
- If you have a **season ticket** for the zoo, then please do bring it along.
- Please meet outside the main entrance, near the kiosks.
- Please read the attached risk assessment form so you are aware of potential risks
- LSMs have provided work for you to complete at the zoo – you can find it attached to this email.
- There is no need for professional dress - wear warm clothes as it may be very cold!

Timetable when returning to your A placement

When you return to your A placement, you should be teaching between 12 and 15 lessons as appropriate. There is room as ever to observe lessons if this is appropriate.

IMP3 requirements (Thursday 29th March):

You should now have discussed with your mentor your progress against the standards and from your last IMP report. Please replace evidence from IMPs 1 and 2 where you feel you have improved. Evidence should reflect best practice from the year, not just an accumulation of all evidence. Your updated and annotated evidence folders must be handed in on Thursday 29th March. The requirements are below:

- TPF up to date
- Full Mentor report with PM comment
- Pastoral report in TPF
- 5 lesson observations from B placement
- Enrichment visit form
- Progress case study
- Your SRD should also be up to date
- YOU DO NOT HAVE TO HAND IN ANY OTHER FOLDERS

Upcoming dates

Date	Activity	Notes
Tuesday 27th March	Trainees' last day at B placement school	
Wednesday 28th March	Trainees return to A placement school	*You will not be expected to teach on this day. You should use it to observe and prepare for classes after the holiday.*
Thursday 29th March	IMP3 GPS and SPS as normal.	*Please ensure you discuss your evidence file with your mentor a few weeks before the report deadline.*

Action Research Assignment

The deadline for this assignment is the 17th May. You do not have to conduct the research cycle on your return to A placement, unless you need to do so. If this is the case, you will need the approval of your PM on the ethics approval form please.

Job Hunting

Although around half of you have now secured positions for July/September, we wanted to reassure the rest of you that there is still plenty of time! Over the past three years, almost 100% of all trainees from [Oakland ITT] have gone onto secure employment before the summer. You can keep an eye out for vacancies on the websites of our partnerships schools, along with TES (https://www.tes.com/jobs/). Many jobs will come up after Easter as schools prepare their timetables for September.

Vacancies

There are currently some vacancies advertised here [websites provided].

Appendix G: Blog posts

G(i): Blog post from Amanda for Oakland ITT website

GARDENING FOR THE MIND

October 20, 2017

A friend asked me how the teacher training was working out so far.

"*Great*," I said, "*Really well*."

He looked at me quizzically, perhaps detecting a slight twitch in my eye.

"*Must be tiring though?"*

He's right of course; it is exhausting. I'm not going to be the life and soul of any party for the foreseeable future. In fact, I struggle to stay up past 10 p.m. I fall into bed each night, my mind whirling with plans for the next morning, and critique of the day just gone. The hours in school are full-on and the evenings completely taken up with being a mum. Only when I finally lay my head on the pillow, do I get chance to catch up with my own thoughts.

Meticulously, I rake through all the memories of the day, trying to bring them into tidy piles, so that I can sleep. In one pile there are the things I should (or should not) have said. In another are the things I could have done differently. Next to them in a dark corner, the things I messed up. I force myself to add to these piles some cheerier thoughts: a piece of positive feedback I've had, something I did which helped my pupils learn, or made them smile. In the dark stretches of the night, I turn each incident over, examine it, either cursorily or at length, before laying it down. I think it helps. It helps because reflection and self-criticism are at the heart of this year. In fact, I am beginning to realise that reflective practice is going to be essential for many, many years to come if I am to become the best teacher I can be. It is the cornerstone of the school-based course, where the cycle of reflection is iterative from the very start. Read, Listen, Observe, Teach, Reflect, Repeat.

The reflection part takes many guises, informed as it is by feedback from multiple sources. It is the insightful comments of my mentor, the targets in my TPF, the scribbles in the margin of a lesson plan, and the discussions in my weekly tutorials. It is the asterisk on my GPS handout which says *could this work with my top set year 9? and the moment in a lesson observation when I think I would have done that differently. It is comparing notes with other trainees, it is noting down thoughts for this blog, and, yes, it is my "mental gardening", sweeping my jumbled thoughts into manageable heaps, as I wait for sleep to come.

I look at my friend and smile.

"*Tiring, yes*." I say, "*But worth it*."

Amanda, English trainee teacher

G(ii): Blog post from Helen for Oakland ITT website

Feeling like a proper teacher

January 15, 2018

With Christmas over, I was really looking forward to getting back into the classroom and seeing all my classes again. I had spent most of the holidays thinking of new activities we could do and preparing ways to boost the year 10's confidence in time for their speaking and listening assessment. Going back into school, I felt organised, primed and ready to go.

However, on returning, I found my professional mentor and my subject mentor (one in the same) had been signed off ill. She and I share her year 10 class and I had been preparing multiple lessons leading up to the recording of their speeches, so I wasn't panicked. It was quite nice being left 'alone' to deal with this class as if I was their regular teacher and I had received great feedback from the cover supervisors who was assigned to the lesson.

The head of department was also enormously supportive even down to giving up her own time to guide me through the assessment process. Unfortunately, she also went sick for a few days leading up to year 10 parent's evening. As their subject teacher was still off now along with the head of department, I went to the Deputy Head Teacher to see if I should do the appointments solo. He said if I felt comfortable then of course.

So I did.

And I loved it.

It was such a pleasure to meet the parents of some of my favourite students and spread some positivity about their participation in class, their mocks results and my time with them. The whole of the English department came together to prepare me for the evening and I came away feeling like a proper teacher!

I saw the Deputy Head at the end and he asked how the evening went. I rattled on for a while about how much I enjoyed it to which he replied, *"you weirdo!"*

I suppose the novelty will wear off eventually.

Helen, English trainee teacher

Appendix H: Subject Knowledge Audit

Central University PGCE Secondary English Subject Knowledge Audit

Areas of Subject Knowledge	My own current knowledge and expertise in this area	Suggestions for filling the gap	Targets/Self-assessment/Action Taken
Lexis - morphology, semantics, phonology, graphology		> Spend some time in a good bookshop or library, browsing in the language study, linguistics section. Check the definitions for these terms.	
Grammar - word classes, word order, sentence construction, clauses and phrases		> Read a grammar book e.g. 'Rediscover Grammar' by David Crystal, Longman; 'The Great Grammar Book' by J.Maizels and K.Petty, Bodley Head; 'The Usborne Book of Better English' by R.Gee and C. Watson, Usborne; 'The Teacher's Guide to Grammar' by Deborah Cameron	
Punctuation - phrase and clause structure, emphasis, conventions		> Look at a punctuation 'rules and examples' book e.g. The Punctuation Repair Kit by W.Vandyck, Hodder Children's Book; 'The Usborne Book of Better English' by R.Gee and C. Watson, Usborne	
Textual meaning - how words, sentences, paragraphs convey meaning and ideas; role of structure, organisation and presentation		> Read 'How Texts Teach What Readers Learn' by Margaret Meek, Thimble Press	
Language as a social, cultural and historical phenomenon		> Read 'Mother Tongue : The English Language' by Bill Bryson, 1991, Penguin, London	
Analysis, criticism and appreciation of literary and non-literary texts		> Read 'Don't Tell the Grown Ups : Subversive Children's Literature', Bloomsbury > Consult a good glossary of literary terms book e.g. 'A Glossary of Literary Terms' by M. H. Abrams or 'Literary Terms : A Practical Glossary' by Brian Moon, English and Media Centre.	
Bias, viewpoint, audience, context, purpose of texts		> Choose a big news story day. Buy or photocopy the front pages of a range of newspapers on that day. Begin to compare the treatment of the same story by the various newspapers.	
Non-fiction texts		> Start to keep a folder of non-fiction texts from magazines, newspapers, weekend supplements e.g. cookery/food writing, fashion/music/sport features, profiles/interviews with sport/music/film stars, a life in the day of, questionnaires etc.	

		>Try: Vera Brittain, Jan Morris, Peter Ackroyd, James Cameron, David Attenborough,	
Media texts		Make a list of the media texts popular with teenagers e.g. 'Friends', 'The Simpsons', 'Home and Away'; 'South Park'and current TV advertisements. > Look at your list. Talk it over with a teenager if you can. How accurate a reflection of teenagers' media consumption is your list? What did you miss out? > Spend some time in a newsagents looking at the titles and front pages of magazines aimed at teenagers. What titles are aimed at teenage boys?	
Literature texts from a range of cultures and traditions		> Read texts from "different cultures and traditions" by, for example : Rosa Guy, Alice Walker, Maya Angelou, Toni Morrisson, Jacob Ross, James Berry, V.S. Naipaul, Merle Collins, Michael Anthony, Farrukh Dhondy, Anita Desai, Rukshana Smith, Meera Syal, Attia Hossain, Romesh Gunesekera, Rabindranath Tagore, Vikram Seth, Timothy Mo, Jung Chang, Li Pi, Maxine Hong Kingston,Chinua Achebe, Buchi Emecheta, Bessie Head, Nadine Gordimer,KenSarawiwa.	
Teenage literature		> Try some popular teenage books: Harry Potter; anything by Philip Pullman, David Almond or Judy Blume; a Point Horror book; a Goosebumps book; a Babysitters Club book.	
Shakespeare		> Shakespeare : 'Romeo and Juliet', 'A Midsummer Night's Dream', 'Twelfth Night', 'Julius Caesar', 'Macbeth', 'King Lear', 'Hamlet'... are plays regularly taught in secondary schools. Choose a play you do not know or one you would like to revisit. Read /watch a video/see a theatre production/listen to an audio performance/use a CD-ROM version.	
Pre-twentieth century prose		> Fiction by major writers published before 1914 Start with these fiction texts frequently studied in schools : 'Wuthering Heights', 'Jane Eyre', 'A Christmas Carol', 'Pride and Prejudice', 'Frankenstein', 'A Modest Proposal', 'Gulliver's Travels', 'Great Expectations'. Look out too for short stories by these writers : 'The Old Nurse's Story' - Gaskell, 'The Signalman' - Dickens, 'The Red Room', 'The Withered Arm' - Hardy, 'The Black Veil' - Dickens.	
Pre-twentieth century poetry		> Poems by major poets published before 1914 Start with 'Songs of Innocence and Experience' - Blake 'The General Prologue' and 'The Pardoner's Tale' - Chaucer	

		'The Rime of the Ancient Mariner' - Coleridge Then dip into a good anthology of pre-twentieth century poetry.	
Twentieth century prose		> Fiction by major writers published after 1914 Start with : 'Of Mice and Men' - Steinbeck 'Sumitra's Story' or 'Salt on the Snow' - Rukshana Smith 'The Friends' - Rosa Guy 'Animal Farm' - George Orwell 'Cider with Rosie' - Laurie Lee 'I'm the King of the Castle' -Susan Hill	
Twentieth century poetry		> Poems by major poets published after 1914 Start with : Robert Frost,Ted Hughes, Thomas Hardy, Seamus Heaney, Grace Nichols, Liz Lochhead, Carol-Ann Duffy, Elizabeth Jennings, Elizabeth Bishop, Sylvia Plath, Merle Collins, Moniza Alvi, Gillian Clarke	
Pre-twentieth and Twentieth century drama		> Drama by major playwrights. Start with these plays frequently studied in schools : 'Pygmalion' - Shaw 'Hobson's Choice' -Brighouse 'A View From the Bridge' - Miller 'The Importance of Being Earnest' - Wilde 'An Inspector Calls' - Priestley 'A Streetcar Named Desire' - Williams 'Educating Rita' - Russell 'Our Day Out' - Russell Read/watch a video/see a theatre production/listen to an audio performance/use a CD-ROM version.	
Information and communication technology		> Use some ICT e.g. word processing to produce a final, best presentation version of a piece of your writing; use Powerpoint to produce a presentation > Make a few notes about the experience you have just undergone as a writer. How did it feel? What was useful? What problems did you have? How did you overcome them? > Find a good English website: http://www.antialias.co.uk/movingwords/ http://www.nate.org.uk	